

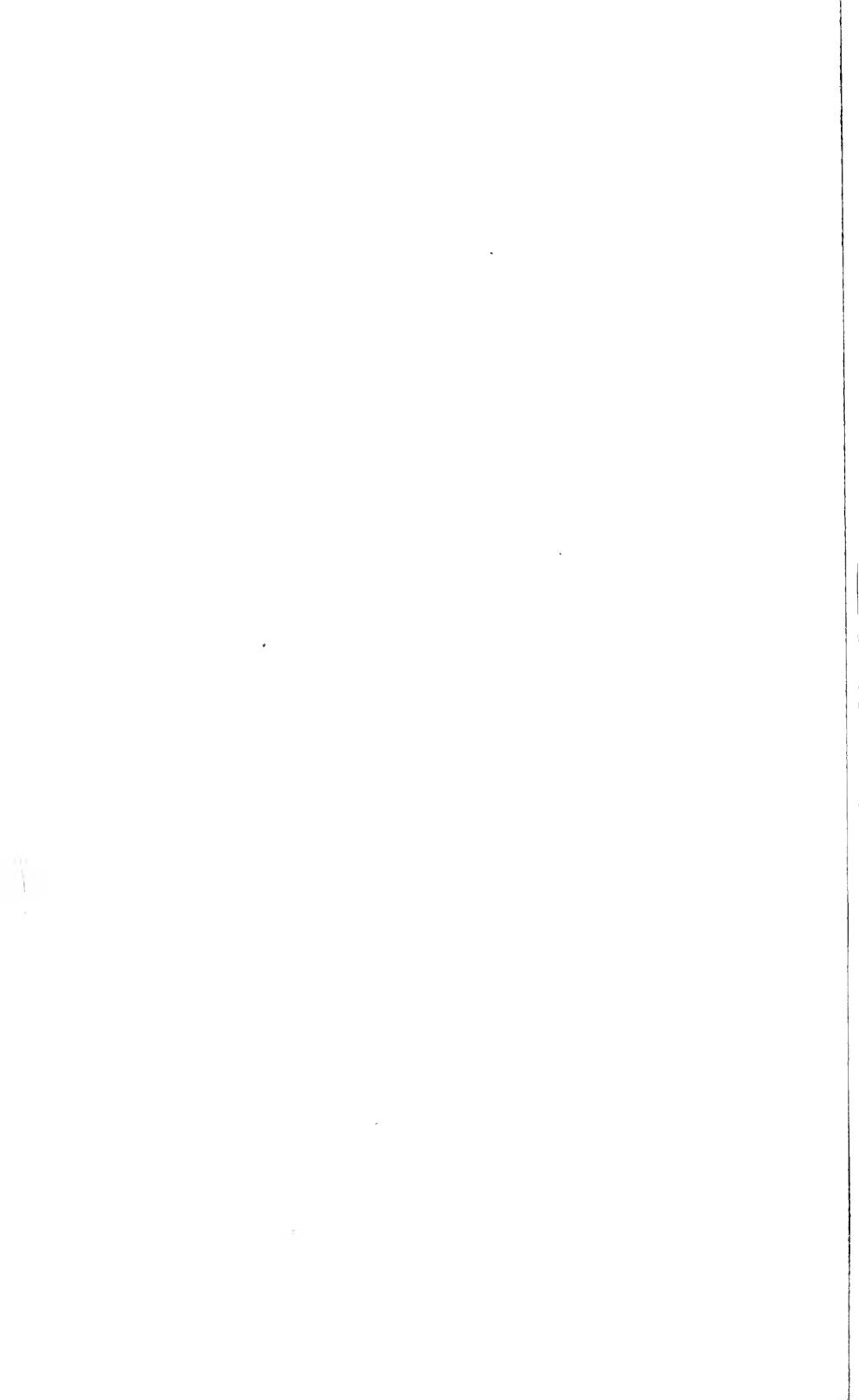
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



THE
LETTERS
OF
COLUMBUS ;

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED

IN THE
BOSTON BULLETIN :

TO WHICH ARE ADDED TWO LETTERS OF

COL. ORNE TO GEN. DUFF GREEN.

BOSTON :

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1829.

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COLUMBUS, NO. 1.

A writer in the New Hampshire Patriot, under the signature of *Anti-Janus*, has commenced an attack against a portion of Gen. Jackson's friends, in Boston, which presents some claims to their notice. I do not hazard a conjecture as to his name. The matter of the piece affords sufficient indications that it is a Boston production, and many circumstances satisfy me beyond a doubt that it may be deemed the act of a Boston party. The piece is remarkable for a boldness of assertion, for a rancorous spirit of hostility, and for a recklessness of truth, which have usually characterized the writers in the Boston Statesman; but the composition evinces a greater degree of taste than has usually been noticed in that virulent paper. The writer is not, probably, one of the master spirits of the party. People who have much at stake, do not like to commit themselves too openly in assertions which cannot be maintained, and the falsehood of which must recoil, with fearful energy, on themselves. They prefer to pour their slander through secret channels, and to leave nothing visible of the assassin but the blow that he strikes.

I confess I have been much surprised at the appearance of this paper. When a party, by the use of secret defamation, has accomplished its object, and obtained, from a deceived government, trusts of such magnitude as must have surpassed their fondest visions of hope,—such trusts as must sometimes make them doubt whether, indeed, it be not the illusions of a happy dream,—when, apparently, the party can have nothing more to hope for, while they have every thing to lose, there appears to be a temerity almost approaching to madness, in bringing their intrigues into public discussion, and subjecting their false assertions to the dread talisman of truth. There must, in such a case, be some secret danger to appal them, which is not open to common observation. The government whom they have deceived must, from some cause or other, have been roused to suspicion—some secret thorn must, in the haste, have been covered up in their bed of roses to trouble their repose—the hidden recess of their retreat must have been invaded by some avenging spirit to disturb their unhallowed revels, by pointing the *finger from the wall*. Some still small voice must have proclaimed in the ear of slumbering security, that the triumphs of the

wicked rest on a treacherous foundation, which the slightest shock may cause to tumble from beneath them.

The attack is not less remarkable from the quarter whence it proceeds, than from that against which it is directed. The men who have received every thing from the government, attack those of its friends who have received nothing. The Statesman party is not satisfied that the Jackson republican party has been overthrown. Their successful denunciation to the president does not satisfy the victors in the very moment of their triumph. To share in the battle without partaking of the triumph—to conquer with their party, and to be worse off than the conquered—to have their success rendered less beneficial than defeat, is not considered, by one portion of the Jackson party, sufficient for another portion. These vindictive gentlemen are not satisfied that we suffer, nor that we suffer with humility. We have bowed to the rod of affliction—the blasts of adversity have passed over us, and we have not repined—the “organs of the government” have denounced us, and we have not replied—calumny has closed against us the fountains of power, and suspicion has rendered deaf to our voice the ear of authority, and yet our enemies are not satisfied. To ruin our political prospects is not enough—but the last consolation of the good man, that which the God of nature has not placed at the mercy of fortune, the value of private reputation, is to be assailed, and the inmost recess to which disappointed virtue can retreat, the bosom of private life, is to be entered and violated.

To accomplish this object the pen of *Anti-Janus* is employed. The columns of a distant newspaper are selected for the onset, from whence the calumny has been transferred to the Boston Statesman, and will probably be again carried, through the Washington Telegraph, to every quarter of this wide extended empire. Whether inclined, or otherwise, to a public discussion, the alternative is not left us. We are forced into the arena. The glove of the challenger is haughtily thrown down, and we are compelled to take it up. We must meet the slander, or acquiesce in the justice of the denunciation. We must be content with infamy as well as ruin, or we must fight. We will fight. The glove of the challenger is fastened to our helmet, and the issue must be settled by the sword. The contest is not one of our courting, but we engage in it without reluctance. The calumny which has been sent forth in secret shall be answered openly. The government shall hear two parties where, before, it has heard but one. The war, like that which preceded our national combat with England, shall no longer be a war on one side. The effort to endure shall be changed to one to defend. The blow shall be returned as well as warded off. And like the chivalry of old, when they threw away the scabbard, we call upon the God of armies to give victory and honour to them that deserve it.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. II.

The individuals whom *Anti-Janus* aims at are too plainly understood to be left in doubt, and we add nothing to the certainty by re-

moving the thin veil which he pretends to throw over his portraits.—He need not fear that we shall affect to misunderstand him, from an apprehension that the fidelity of the portrait will be admitted when its object is acknowledged. The slightest occurrence in the history of an individual will sometimes indicate him as distinctly as his name ; and let the outlines of the portrait be shaped as they may, and whether the colouring be drawn from the beams of Heaven's own arch, or from the blackest recesses of the slanderous bosom, the object will stand sufficiently revealed.

No one, therefore, can entertain a doubt that by Col. Christopher Crafty, Anti-Janus means COL. ORNE; and it is equally obvious to whom he refers by the parties who were "to furnish a sufficient quantity of good society federalism," and "a sprinkling of democracy and the balance in cash." The union of these gentlemen as friends of Gen. Jackson, and who established a newspaper for the sole purpose of supporting his election,—their movements in connexion with their party, and their political fate, are facts of general notoriety, and inapplicable to all others.

To denounce these gentlemen and their political friends, and the newspaper which defends them, is the object of Anti-Janus, and of the friends of the Statesman. But his main attention is, as that of his party has heretofore been, bestowed on Col. Orne. The reason of this distinction will sufficiently appear in the course of these numbers. Our present object is, however, only to notice the fact. When men are strong in their union, the first step to their overthrow is to effect their division. This has been attempted by every appeal to pride and self-interest which the ingenuity of intrigue could suggest, but has been attempted in vain. The bond between men of honor in pursuit of an honest object, will baffle the deepest cunning, and set temptation at defiance. Duff Green, with all the means that his supposed influence and want of honor can give him, has been as unfortunate in his numerous attempts, as have his worthy coadjutors of the Statesman party. Anti-Janus, with more address than both, will share their fate.

Let us now proceed to the matter of his accusation. Col. Orne's figure "is too corpulent" for the taste of Anti-Janus. By St. George, we could almost imagine we had a lady for our adversary. "The expression of his eye has been impaired" by a chronic inflammation of some twenty years standing. What a pity it is that Col. Orne had not consulted Anti-Janus as his apothecary. Who knows but that between his drugs and his lead, (pardon me, Anti-Janus, I believe on my soul you are *not* the drug and paint seller) some antidote might have been found to allay the inflammation and preserve the lustre. "His locks are thinner than they were in early youth ; alas, that time in his progress, with his pitiless scythe, should assail the clustering graces of the youthful head. Would that our Anti-Janus were a barber, and Col. Orne's hair had been subjected to his skill some twenty years since—the thin locks might not at this day have offended the delicate taste of our adversary. But enough of this trifling—there is graver matter be-

hind. According to Anti-Janus, Col. Orne is a "glutton" and a "sensualist"—is "selfish," "cunning," "treacherous," and "false." That during three years of the last presidential contest, he adopted the non-committal system, and could not decide what course to take. He hesitated while Gov. Clinton lived, lest he might be a candidate: and after his death, turned a doubting eye towards Mr. Crawford. He denied, in the most public manner, that he took any part in the (presidential) contest, while at the same time he privately kept up an active communication with the friends of each candidate, professing, in the secrecy of confidential correspondence, to be friendly to each. That he was a *fence-man*, until the election of Mr. Speaker Stevenson warned him to jump off, when he attempted to steal or force himself into the front rank of those who had fought the good fight of JACKSON and reform, but his base and selfish conduct caused him to be viewed every where with coldness and distrust. That he headed a new party, seduced two honest, well meaning, (simple souls!) but somewhat disappointed politicians to join him, collected the unprincipled of all parties, and struck for his object—but failed. That, since his failure, the only passion which finds entrance to his bosom, is revenge. For this only he lives, moves and breathes, this employs his thoughts by day, and his dreams by night—to this he devotes his perverted talents, his fiendish cunning, and his exceeding falsehood. He abuses Gen. Jackson in his private familiar conversation in the foulest manner—abuses his constitutional advisers, and the officers he has appointed. He affects to be a friend to Gen. Jackson, that he may effect the mischief he meditates. He ascribes to bribery, the support which disinterested presses give to excellent public officers, (Messrs. Henshaw, Greene and Company!) and, to the same cause, the *undivided* approbation (of them) of the whole community. He visits the friends of a displaced clerk, fans the embers of discontent, and excites public meetings to denounce the representatives of the government. And, finally, obtains the control of an unprincipled press, by the means of some instrument he has made his dupe!

This, according to Anti-Janus, is the catalogue of Col. Orne's offences, and it must be confessed, that his transgressions, if it be just, exceed all the sins of the decalogue. The addition of a few more would hardly change the color of the picture, for perjury, theft, and murder are the natural fruits of such concentrated profligacy. The greatest enemy of Col. Orne must admit, that charges of this enormity should be made only by one who was prepared to support them, with proof, when it was called for. As his friend, and on his behalf, I call for proof. He denies every charge, the truth of every averment, and the justice of every imputation. To this comprehensive indictment he pleads not guilty, to every part and parcel thereof, and throws himself on his country for trial. Come forward then, Mr. Prosecutor Anti-Janus, and produce your proof. You have made the charges either on the information of others, or on your own knowledge. You are either the deceived, or the deceiver. If others have informed you, name them, and call upon them for evidence. If they are unable to furnish

it, and you are a man of honor, (for, not knowing you, I will not pre-judge your character,) acknowledge your error, and make atonement to the man you have attempted to injure. If you make the assertion on your own knowledge, come forward with the facts. Draw them from what source you may, friends or enemies, from public acts or confidential communications. You are at liberty to use any information, come from what quarter it may—for Col. Orne exonerates every human being who can substantiate your statement, or any part of it, from withholding his information, under whatever circumstances of confidence it might have been obtained. If he has “kept up an active communication with the friends of each candidate, professing in the secrecy of confidential correspondence to be friendly to each,” there must be some, indignant at such villany, whose confidence must have been destroyed by his exposed duplicity, and who can have no motive to screen him. He removes every injunction that confidence has imposed, and calls upon all, nay *dares* all who holds the evidence of his duplicity, to bring it forward. Bring *one* friend of *any* other candidate to confirm your statement, and he will exonerate you, in part, from malignant and wilful defamation. If you shrink from his reasonable demand, withhold all proof, and skulk behind your anonymous signature, he will hold you, in common, he trusts, with the rest of mankind, as a false, malicious, and malignant slanderer, and a perjured, corrupt, and profligate knave.

COLUMBUS

COLUMBUS NO. III.

The last of the charges made by Anti-Janus is the first in the order of our notice, viz : that since the local appointments here, Col. Orne has been actuated by a spirit of revenge, has abused Gen. Jackson and his constitutional advisers, has fanned the embers of discontent, assailed his officers through the public press, and been the active mover of every effort in opposition to their conduct.

There is not one word of truth in the whole of this comprehensive denunciation—it is gratuitous and unfounded from beginning to end. It has all the character of falsehood which Anti-Janus imputes to another, but practices himself, by way of illustration. The appointments made by the president here, it is true, surprised and astonished the Jackson republican party, and the surprise and astonishment have scarcely diminished to this hour. His best friends have in vain taxed their imaginations to comprehend the policy by which he has been governed, and a satisfactory solution of the subject is as unattainable now, as it was when the astonishing appointments were made. It has been the subject of frequent and earnest conferences, but has baffled every attempt at a satisfactory elucidation. The course proper for the party to pursue, under such embarrassing circumstances, has also received the full measure of consideration. Although some difference of opinion existed, as might naturally be expected, it was the decision of the majority, that the party should keep still, and suffer the consequences of

the measures to unfold themselves. The general confidence of the Jackson republican party in the rectitude of the president's intentions was not shaken, but a deep conviction was entertained that he had been deceived by artifices, and falsehoods, which would not fail, in the course of time, to become manifest. A conviction was also felt, with equal sincerity, that the president was not a man to suffer deceit to pass with impunity, or to continue trusts in hands which had obtained them by the grossest artifices, and impositions. For this change in the temper of the administration we have waited with patience and resignation. Our information from Washington, from the most respectable sources, assured us that the president was by no means pleased with the state of things in Boston, or satisfied that his appointments were of the character he had been led to suppose :—The party who had pressed these appointments upon him he had detected in a foul conspiracy to slander the character of almost the only man, Gen. Boyd, whose appointment answered the expectations of our citizens. This base and profligate conspiracy against a man who had deserved so much from his country, made a deep impression on the mind of the president, and awakened a suspicion of the true character of the Statesman party. The first effect was to stop any further appointments on their recommendation, and, subsequently, an order to the collector to make no more removals without first receiving the sanction of the treasury department. The movements of the Boston merchants, in regard to the shameful proscriptions of the Custom house, were the unbiassed results of the deep disgust felt by business men who regarded alone the interests of the community, uninfluenced by, and indifferent to political considerations. So far from being instigated by Col. Orne, that gentleman was totally uninformed that a meeting was contemplated, until the evening it occurred, when it was incidentally mentioned to him by a gentleman who intended to be present. Col. Orne had no more agency in getting it up than Mr. Henshaw, against whose objectionable conduct it was convened to remonstrate. His decided disinclination to be a party to such a movement, was too well known, even to admit of the subject being suggested to him. Col. Orne was equally a stranger to the discussions which have from time to time appeared in the Bulletin, upon these subjects. The course the party had adopted, precluded any interference on their part, and the discussions have been the unbiased acts of its senior editor, whose forbearance had been taxed to its utmost limits, by the disgraceful transactions he was compelled to witness.

That the principal members of the Jackson republican party have felt this state of things with deep and undissembled regret and mortification, it would be useless to deny. Let a brief consideration of the circumstances decide, whether or not this state of feeling was justifiable. The election of Gen. Jackson was advocated by a small, but spirited portion of our citizens, comprising members of the two ancient great political parties. The disposition of Gen. Jackson to treat all his political friends as standing on the same party ground, whatever might have been the former differences among them, had been so often

proclaimed, and has been since so obviously the principle of his public measures, that his policy, in this respect, has never been the subject of a moment's distrust or uncertainty. For reasons which will be made manifest in the course of this discussion, the Statesman party professed to reject from the Jackson cause all who had not been democrats of the old school. The Jackson republican party made it the basis of their measures, that all the advocates of Gen. Jackson who supported the principles of the Jefferson school, let their party appellations be what they might, should act together, in good faith and harmonious co-operation. That the president should give his exclusive confidence to the party in opposition to the principle so frequently proclaimed as the basis, and made the guide of the measures of his administration, was not considered within the bounds of moral possibility. That federalists who had honestly joined the great national republican party, and been for many years, the sincere and ardent advocates of Gen. Jackson's election,—who had devoted their talents, and expended their money, in his cause,—had suffered the proscriptions and persecutions of their former political associates, and staked all their political hopes and prospects on this great national question,—should, on the occurrence of Gen. Jackson's elevation, be denounced and proscribed,—be deprived of all favor and shut out from all confidence,—be the victims at once of their friends and their opponents, and reap, in victory, worse consequences than in defeat,—was a result which never, for one moment, disturbed their tranquility during the animated struggle. That this is, however, their present position in this commonwealth, and also that of the democrats who acted with them in the common cause, is a fact of indisputable notoriety. That the president could have intended to place them in this position, is a belief that can gain no entrance into an honest bosom, which professes a particle of confidence in the president's political integrity. The Jackson republican party do not believe it, do not distrust it, do not imagine it. The consciousness of their own existence is scarcely stronger than their deep conviction; that the true state of things was not known to the president when his appointments were made, and is not now beheld by him with any degree of satisfaction. By what means he has been deceived, let the infamous Duff Green, and Isaac Hill, and the Statesman party declare. The "*open day and secret night transactions*" of these profligate men, would, could they be made manifest, develope the hidden mystery of these perplexing events.

But the apparent hostility of this state of things, to the obvious policy of the present administration, and to the avowed and often repeated principles of the president, is not the only cause of deep mortification to the Jackson republican party.

At the period of Gen. Jackson's accession, the prospect of his political friends, in this commonwealth, was full of consolation, and promise, and hope. A large proportion of our citizens were friends of the late administration, not from any attachment to Mr. Adams, but from a patriotic impulse to support, with a just degree of confidence, the constituted authorities of this nation. Of the two great political parties,

the mass of the democrats alone were the devoted partizans of Mr. Adams—it was they who placed him in nomination, who gave him their organized party support, who proclaimed him as their party candidate, and who refused, to federalists, any participation in their measures. He was emphatically the candidate of the democratic party of this commonwealth, and as they were his supporters from preference, they would, of course, from the least sentiment of delicacy and honor, be the last to abandon his sinking cause. The federal party, on the contrary, as a body, might rather be considered as acquiescing in Mr. Adams' administration, than as his partizans. His recent denunciation of them as traitors to his country, had still more alienated their sentiments from him, and prepared them for the support of Gen. Jackson's administration. Our population, too, embraced a vast proportion of young men, who had never been classed in either of the great political parties. They had come of age since the federal party had ceased its active efforts, and were required to overcome no prejudices, nor encounter any odium of inconsistency, in becoming members of the Jackson national republican party. At the time of Gen. Jackson's election they were prepared to meet him with an honest confidence, and afford to his measures and his friends a disinterested support.

The republican party, too, strongly attached as they were to Mr. Adams, necessarily lost the bond of their union in his fall, and, as they were never partizans of Mr. Clay, the prospect of their yielding, though a more protracted, yet a decided support of the new administration, was flattering in the extreme. In truth, the political field was open, and almost abandoned, to the Jackson republican party. Their avowed principles, based on the deepest foundation of the Jefferson school, their rejection of former senseless party prejudices, their liberal disposition to make common cause with Jackson men, who could unite with them on principle—prepared the way for their immediate, and scarcely disputed ascendancy in this commonwealth. A large majority of the newspapers in Boston, avowed their readiness to act in harmony with our party, and there was not cause for a doubt, that in a few months, Massachusetts would have been added to the states which supported the present administration. The Clay party, now so triumphant and overwhelming in this commonwealth, scarcely manifested a consciousness of existence, and were debating whether they should not surrender the ground, without a struggle. I have not a doubt, but for a state of things I shall presently refer to, the first local election after the elevation of Gen. Jackson, would have shown the Jackson republican party in this city, at least fifteen hundred strong, at the polls.

The first check to these prosperous anticipations was the declaration of Duff Green, soon after the result of the election was understood, that Gen. Jackson would receive no support but from the democrats of Massachusetts, and would *compel* all others to go into an opposition. Most people, however, felt a perfect contempt for the upstart profligacy of this printer, and treated his threats with derision—but many, not knowing the sentiments of the great leaders of the Jack-

son party, waited for a further development before they would be committed. The next act that startled apprehension, was the prompt appointment of Andrew Dunlap to be district attorney—a man singularly obnoxious to the great body of our citizens, and whose appointment was a heavy blow to the prospects of any Jackson party in this commonwealth. Wild-tongued rumor, also, soon followed with its whispers of Mr. Green's designation for the Boston Post-office, and a dark heavy cloud settled on the sunny prospects of the Jackson cause. The policy proclaimed by Duff Green, for the first time began to gain entrance into the bosoms of considerate men; and a determination not to recognise in its party, any but the exclusive democrats of Massachusetts, was apprehended to be the policy of this administration. The incredibility of such a course alone prevented the great body of our people from giving it belief; when, finally, the appointment of Mr. Henshaw to the collectorship, a selection scarcely more fortunate, in any respect, than the others, was the overwhelming stroke to the Jackson party. The whole patronage of the administration then, conferred on party grounds, was given to the party who acknowledged Duff Green for their idol, and made the proscription of the federal friends of Gen. Jackson, the basis of their party organization. To the important offices of the district attorney and the post-office, was now added, not only the collectorship of Boston, but the whole patronage of the custom-house—a patronage which bestows an influence on the collector, scarcely inferior to that which the president of the U. States, from all other sources, can command in this commonwealth. Not only were the Jackson republican party excluded from all trusts, but their sentiments and views, in regard to removals and appointments, were never consulted. But the apparent policy to be pursued in regard to them was not confined to neglect. Duff Green openly avowed, that not only should they be excluded from appointments, but that it should be reason enough to deprive any incumbent of his office, that he acted, in support of Gen. Jackson, as a member of the Jackson republican party. Accordingly, one of the earliest acts was the removal of William Little—a man much beloved, and popular with our citizens—a relic of the revolutionary army—a Jackson man, and the head of the most decided Jackson family in New-England—in the midst of his usefulness, and his health. He was removed even with marks of indignity,—as the civility of a notice to him was not regarded, and he went to his office and found another commissioned to discharge its duties. *He was related by marriage to Col. Orne.* While his associate, one of the most violent Adams men in our community, and certainly, I hazard nothing in saying, one who is little beloved, as an officer, by the great body of our merchants, *is retained to this hour.*

Col. Arthur Lithgow, another relic of the revolution, was also displaced, for he had been a member of the Jackson republican party. And up to this moment, not a single member of that party has been placed in any office, on party grounds—Gen. Boyd, the only successful candidate, having claims, altogether, of a public character.

Notwithstanding the disposition of the community to meet the president "*more than half way*"—and in spite of all the influence of patronage and office, the whole Jackson party is at this time, less numerous than it was when the contest was doubtful. Although nearly nine hundred votes were cast for the Jackson electoral ticket, when the candidates were justly exceptionable, and exceedingly unpopular, our best informed friends despair of being able to collect round the Jackson standard in this city, five hundred votes. "*Hinc ille lachrymæ.*" This is cause enough, if an honorable Jackson man were to have no rest by day, nor peace by night—why his waking visions, and slumbering dreams, should be full of trouble and disquiet. When we think on what we were and might have been, and reflect on what we are, it is enough to sicken the heart, and palsy the energies of the mind, and to cause every friend among us of the present administration to stain the cheeks of manhood with a woman's tear, and bow the head of humility in sack-cloth and ashes. This it is that has exemplified a political problem which was once thought a moral impossibility—it has forced a revolution to go backwards, and brought forward a candidate to contend for the presidency who fell from it when in power. This is the reason why Henry Clay is rising triumphantly in this commonwealth, and, in a nautical phrase, *looming* large in the contest, when, recently he was politically prostrate and overthrown—and why *he* is threatening to be a formidable competitor for the presidency, who was recently unable to strengthen the coalition by the addition of a single vote. Is Anti-Janus hunting for *secret* enemies of the administration? Let him open his eyes and behold here, among us, in broad day, those who bask in the sunshine of favor, and yet carry ruin and destruction to the cause they hail under. The enemy is in the citadel—who then can wonder that the fortress is in ruins?

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. IV.

I have said that the policy, which governed the president in his Boston appointments, was incomprehensible at the time, and defies every effort at elucidation now; and yet I am not unaware that motives have been assigned which may appear to some sufficient to explain it. But little examination is requisite to show that the mystery is not the less dark from any rays they can shed upon it. There are only two which strike with the least plausibility, and them I shall proceed to notice.

The Jackson contest, it was said, was a democratic contest, and the policy of this administration was to retrace the lines of division between the old parties which had been obscured, and almost effaced, by the perplexed character of the recent political contests. But the assertion is as destitute of fact, as the policy is of probability or justice. Federalists, as such, were no parties to the contest, and were contending with equal vehemence, and with no great disparity of numbers, in the opposing ranks. In some quarters Adams was as incontestibly the candidate of the republican party, as Jackson was in others; and fed-

eralists advocated the cause of the one, in one section of the union, with the same earnestness they were opposing it in another. But the Statesman party, it is said, not only pressed this policy on the government, and reinforced it by the northern Jackson democratic delegation, but made magnificent pledges of the effect it would produce on this commonwealth. Massachusetts democrats were to go in a body to the feet of the President, and the administration flag triumphantly to float over the political edifices of this ancient metropolis. Under such leaders as Messrs. Henshaw, Dunlap, Greene, *et id omne genus*, the state was to be brought into the true fold. By their appointment, the great strong hold of Adams was to be wrested from Clay, and the head of the opposition be crushed, before it should have time to gather itself up from its prostrate position. Four of the remaining five N. E. states would follow the example, from their democratic sympathies, while a doubtful or federal flag, in this state, would either prevent their accession, or destroy their party ascendancy. The importance of such results, it is supposed, induced the administration to swerve a little from their own principles, and allow the sacrifice of a few of their friends for an object of such general interest.

The absurdity of the idea that any respectable party would rally under such men, was no answer to the argument; because the government might be deceived as to their character, and the estimation in which they were holden. Nor was the opposite fact, that under the banner of the Jackson republican party alone, any respectable portion of our people would rally, one of greater difficulty. The same erroneous impression which attributed much weight to the Statesman party, might attribute little to ours.

But the true objection is of a graver character, and explodes the absurd hypothesis to air. The policy would have been unprincipled and dishonorable, and every sentiment of Gen. Jackson's heart would have risen up against it in rebellion. What, sell his friends to purchase his enemies! Abandon these who had fought for him, to invite to his arms those by whom he had been opposed and denounced! Punish the soldiers who had gained the battle, to reward those who had disputed it! Talk of his policy at the expense of his principles—of his private advantage in opposition to his public duties—of interest against honor? He would not have sacrificed a *man* to have purchased his enemy's camp. The fidelity of a leader to his party is sheltered in the inmost recess of his heart, and before it can be violated in an honorable bosom, the heart must be bared to its last artery. The most prejudiced enemy he has, Mr. Clay himself, in the gall of his disappointment, would not deny to Gen. Jackson the lofty aspirations of private honor. There is no policy however specious, there is no advantage however substantial, there is no consequence however appalling, that could win, or force him, to violate the fidelity of an honorable leader towards his political friends. If I could suspect one moment that the perfidy of so black a heart had fluttered in a single pulsation of his arteries, I would tear his badge from my dishonored head, and trample it in the dust. I do not doubt that such specious illusions were spread

out, by this degraded party, to influence politicians of a different sort. They might captivate the fancy of a Duff Green, for they are on a level with his principles and his understanding. They might suit the politics of men around the president,—for jackalls ever follow in the wake of the lion, until they expose themselves to the noble animal, and are trodden down in his path—men whose morality knows no standard but interest, nor any merit but success. They might have seduced such men to second the ambitious objects of our demagogues, and to urge their appointment on grounds, to us indeed inscrutable, but more consistent with notions of elevated honor. But that they influenced the chief himself—nay, that there is a man in the country who dared to insult the head of this nation with the suggestion of such a policy, can only be credited when the republic is despaired of. Whatever *did* influence the president to so inexplicable a course, it was not any policy to purchase his enemies by the sacrifice of his friends.

And those who, acting from motives so ineffably execrable, have calculated to buy over the Adams democrats of Massachusetts, by selling the Jackson republican party here, or win them, by the reward of such leaders, have equally mistaken the character of our people, and the importance of their services—If the democratic states of New England are never brought within the fold until the democracy of Massachusetts hails under the Statesman banner, the hair that is not yet sprouted shall be first bleached, like snow, in the winters of age.

The second ground, to which the policy of the government has been attributed, is one of a still more delicate character. Before a successful candidate fairly enters on the duties of his office, the agitated and unquiet passions of the age, speculate on his successor.—The devotion of Duff Green to the elevation of Mr. Calhoun is not only notorious but undissembled. Being viewed, by the influence of unhappy circumstances, as the organ of the present administration, the inclination of his views is supposed to indicate that of the cabinet. The Statesman *leaders*, if such a term can be applicable to the front files of such a rabble, no doubt, pledged their fidelity to Mr. Calhoun—and such is their dependance on, and obligation to Duff Green, that their ready acquiescence in his views, be they what they may, and be they for whom they may, is far from problematical. The certainty of obtaining this party, if their sacred pledge could make it certain, determined the policy of the Telegraph; while the different materials of which the Jackson republican party was composed, and the independent characters of the men around whom that party rallied, satisfied the intriguing printer, that they could neither be bought nor driven, to a premature decision on the prospective contest. Duff Green could make no calculations on a party which, he had well ascertained, rejected him as a leader. If he could not make *them* follow, he could strengthen those who did; and this, and another reason of a more private and interested character, which I shall hereafter refer to, induced him to embrace the Statesman party, and denounce ours. In his policy he had, beyond a doubt, many coadjutors on the spot. It has governed those who have exercised, and might have claims to exercise, much influence with the

president. The friendly disposition towards the Statesman party, manifested by so many, at the seat of government, had this for its cause. And yet the fact presents a strange anomaly.

One of the causes which influenced a portion of the opposition to Mr. Adams in this quarter, was, undoubtedly, a question of national interest connected with our manufactures. A part of the mercantile community apprehended danger to their commerce from the system of domestic protection, as it was actually modified. They supported the Jackson cause from their views of national interest. Being deeply engaged in commercial pursuits, they were necessarily men of influence and standing in our community. The Statesman party was not respectable enough to permit the possibility of a co-operation with them by men of such a standing. Our merchants, in general, have either no party character, or have been federalists. Such men the Statesman denounces. Self respect would permit, on their part, a connexion only with the Jackson republicans. They would not enlist as the followers of any man in a prospective contest, but their bias must have insensibly been towards the policy of a southern candidate. That the partizan printer of such a candidate should denounce these men, excites a deeper admiration of his boldness than of his wisdom.

Many have suspected Mr. Calhoun as the abettor of the hostility towards the Jackson republicans. I cannot agree with them. That his friends have acted so with a view to his benefit is incontestible, but it would require an effort to believe that they were sanctioned by him. He is not the first man who has been injured by the injudicious zeal of his friends.

But this throws no light upon the policy of the president. He is not the partizan of Mr. Calhoun. Let his opinions of Mr. Calhoun's qualifications and claims be what they may, the wish to influence a future choice of president, has never dictated his slightest measure. On this subject he is as inflexible as he is honest. And whatever influence the injudicious friends of Mr. Calhoun may have exerted for his benefit, the advancement of his cause has not been the motive they have holden out to the president. Whenever his policy in sacrificing us is brought to light, be it what it may, it was not the advancement of Mr. Calhoun's election. We speak upon this subject with confidence, and we speak with authority. The Jackson republican party may have been sacrificed by the friends of Mr. Calhoun, with a view to advance his cause, and that too, we believe on our souls, without his sanction or desire; but the fact throws no light on the policy of the executive. It is as inscrutable as it is surprising. It sets reasoning at defiance. Imagination cannot grasp it. The astonishment it excited when it was first promulgated, continues still, and neither reason, nor sentiment, nor party fidelity, nor the services of the past, nor the interests of the future, throw a ray of light on the darkness of its mysteries.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. V.

The charge of a "*fenceman*," made by Anti-Janus against Col. Orne, is the most remarkable that unblushing impudence, perhaps, ever dared to hazard in the face of an intelligent community. It is almost impossible to treat it with gravity. There is not a man from Maine to the Mississippi—from the Atlantic frontier to the remotest point in our western forests to which the pioneers of civilization have advanced, who from the commencement of the contest for the choice of a successor to Mr. Monroe, up to the present hour, has been more free from any thing equivocal in his politics, or is less obnoxious to the appellation of a *fenceman*. I make this assertion in the strongest possible sense in which it can be understood. He is the last man in the community against whom such a charge has any color of foundation, and it is the last of all charges which should be made against him.

By a *fenceman* I understand one whose leading object it is to be with the successful party, and who decides to join it, only after its success, at least to himself, is sufficiently indicated. One who "hur-ras" most vehemently for the triumph, but who is especially careful to be away from the danger. A self-interested man who aims to share in the fruits of victory, but withholds his aid from the struggle.—In this section of the country, where the conduct of political men is under the public observation, the notorious falshood of this charge renders its denial apparently an act of supererogation. There is not a man who makes such a charge but a knave, nor one who believes it but a dupe. The intriguing leader of the Statesman party, who themselves so well know its absolute falsity, chuckle in wonder that the effrontery of unblushing assertion can impose so successfully on the ignorance of remote conductors of the press, as to procure it some currency.

A slight recurrence to the history of the parties formed in this quarter; in relation to the controversy for president, is alone requisite to show the wanton malice of its character.

When the election of a successor to Mr. Monroe was first in agitation, the great mass of the voters in this commonwealth indicated a preference of Mr. Adams, while the residue, a comparatively small minority, preferred Mr. Crawford. The present Jackson party is composed mainly of the Crawford party, with the addition of some few who would have preferred Mr. Clay, some still fewer who were more particularly in favour of Mr. Calhoun, and, some, who in the course of the contest, after Gen. Jackson had been placed in nomination, manifested their first preference for him.—Long before Gen. Jackson had been named as a candidate, Col. Orne openly announced his determination to support Mr. Crawford, and was the *first man*, in point of time, in this commonwealth, who took ground against Mr. Adams. He commenced the presidential campaign here by advocating, in the columns of the Boston Statesman, the election of Mr. Crawford. It is impossible to imagine a state of things less invit-

ing to a non-committal, or fenceman. The parties through the United States, at that time, had hardly begun to break ground; and here, in this state, we had a moral certainty of toiling in a minority, which, whatever might be the fate of the party at large, could not fail to be proscribed and persecuted at home. The timid and time serving politicians, consequently, had no hesitation as to their course. Whatever might be their secret preference, they well knew that the counsels of prudence led them to Mr. Adams. In any event they were secure of the state government, with all its advantages; and, if success crowned their efforts, they would add, to that of the state, the monopoly of the national patronage; while in the event of failure, they would constitute so powerful a minority that their opposition would be feared, and their support conciliated. No man who was not constitutionally, and in principle, bold, resolute, determined, and firm,—who would not adhere to his side through danger and difficulties, and sink or swim by the event of the contest,—would have engaged in the forlorn hope of heading an opposition in this commonwealth. He who was the first to engage must, by the course of circumstances, be the last to give up. To such a man there was no door to retreat through. The loss of the contest was the loss of everything, state or national, county, district or municipal. There was no political support to fall back upon, no trust to which he could retreat, in the executive, legislative or judicial departments of the national or state governments. The event of failure was the loss of every thing to which a politician could aspire—was a rout entire and universal, “horse, foot and dragoons.” The contest was to be conducted with immense labor, and, for the parties, at an immense expense. Yet in this contest, so hazardous and so eventful, Col. Orne engaged, and engaged *the first*; and *he* knows nothing of the politics of this state, on this occasion, who does not know that it was a contest he was the most resolute to conduct, and the last to abandon.

It were now vain to reflect upon the obvious and important errors committed in this state by the Crawford party. The public sentiment, although strongly inclining to Mr. Adams, yet was anxiously bent upon preserving the integrity of the great national republican party. Its preference of Mr. Adams was not, at first, so strong, as to induce it to support him at the hazard of the division and downfall of the party. In the result of a party nomination, our electors were strongly disposed to acquiesce. They still preferred their party to their candidate, or rather they were disposed, in conformity with the established discipline of the republican party here, to waive their personal preferences, and support him as their candidate, who should be that of their party. It was the policy of the Crawford party to obtain for him the party nomination; and while they avowed their willingness to abide by the result, they should have advocated his nomination by the party, with all possible openness and frankness, zeal and solicitude. Such was the policy of Col. Orne. But in this he was opposed, and successfully opposed, by the selfishness, caution and timidity of the present Statesman leaders. That they were opposed to Mr. Adams could on-

ly be suspected by their caution to avoid being committed in his favor. The Statesman was filled for years with solemn asseverations that it was not opposed to Mr. Adams, nor a partizan paper of Mr. Crawford. Its course was timid, hesitating, indirect and deceitful. If it copied an article in favor of Mr. Crawford, the timid hare does not sooner leap at the approach of the hunter, than this selfish paper did, to defend itself from an imputation that it supported his election. It was in vain that Col. Orne, and he alone, advocated a cause at once more manly, honorable and efficient. The non-committal system prevailed—the cautious selfishness of the Statesman leaders controlled him, and secret manœuvering was substituted for open, manly support. The result was too obvious. The cause that was too weak to be avowed, was too hazardous to be supported; and the *fencemen*, the great mass of politicians at the beginning of a contest, all decided against us. The opposite bolder course might have kept a part, and there was a chance of keeping a respectable part, of our voters, uncommitted, until the party should make a nomination. But languid efforts and dissembled attachment frightened them all away, and “fear admitted into party politics, betrayed, like treason.”

In another important respect the course of the paper departed from his views, and injured the party. However bold, and resolute, and unequivocal were the sentiments of Col. Orne, he never failed to urge upon the conductors of that paper, a regard for decency and propriety in its language. Coarse and vulgar abuse of the opposing candidates was not adapted to the intelligence, or taste, of our community; it might degrade ourselves, but could not advance our object. He wished the opposing candidates might be treated with courtesy and fairness, and the cause placed on the broad ground of its connexion with our political institutions, and our national prosperity. He wished, in one word, the course of the paper to be as dignified, and respectable as the “Jackson Republican” was, in the contest which has just ended. The paper was, however, controlled by different councils, and its tone was lowered to the level of Billingsgate scurrility. The opposing candidates were, when at length the Statesman was compelled to take its ground, treated in the manner which has since characterized the deportment of the paper towards Mr. Adams. There was no newspaper in the country more remarkable for its vindictiveness of temper, and disregard of decency, in its political discussions—and there has scarcely been a paper since which has abused Gen. Jackson in more bold or unqualified terms. The most degrading caricature of Gen. Jackson which has ever been drawn in this quarter, was exhibited by Nathl. Green in his counting room on the floor of Merchants Hall, until the undissembled disgust, even of the friends of Mr. Adams, compelled him to remove it. The violent pamphlet of Jesse Benton, in abuse of the General, was encouraged and applauded, and even the muse of scurrility was invoked to defame him in doggerel rhyme. It were a curious employment to turn over the files of that paper if any could be found, during the last contest, to examine a little the tone of its discussions. If an Adams paper can be found which has treated

Gen. Jackson with less decency, it would be gratifying to learn what part of the country gave it encouragement. Its *attachment* to Gen. Jackson, will, however, sufficiently appear by a single sentence published in that paper Oct. 12—1824, at almost the last moment of the contest, in relation to Gen. Jackson, and, I believe, Mr. Calhoun.

“Mr. Benton,” it says, (in relation to the celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Jesse Benton) “has done his duty *nobly*—he has exposed to the world enough of the errors and intrigues of these two men, to *disqualify them* FOREVER from [for] the office of President.”

Up to the eventful moment of the decision, the friends of Mr. Crawford did every thing for him that undaunted spirit, and untiring exertion, could accomplish. But their success was by no means in proportion to their efforts. The languor at the commencement enfeebled every subsequent exertion, and the cause which men were afraid to avow, was irretrievably lost when their courage was sufficiently stimulated to support it. It is needless to trace out the immediate consequences. The friends of Mr. Adams rejoiced, and lorded it proudly over us. We returned depressed and dispirited into a minority, but having foreseen and embraced the alternative, we felt no disposition to murmur at the weight of the arm which was made to fall upon us. Objects of political support no where, and of proscription at home, we endured the consequences,—and to those whose position depended on the public favor, they were consequences of no slight magnitude—with fortitude and resignation. The evil was severely felt by those whose career was political, or whose profession or pursuits made them to depend on the favor of a government, or the support of a party. The dealers in drugs, and feathers, and paints, might sustain no inconvenience in their private pursuits, for houses might still be painted, and chambers furnished with carpets, and exhausted nature ask beds and mattresses to repose upon—the rich man might still languish for his healing drug, and the cheapest venders find their full proportion of purchasers, although their politics might render them objects of no favor. But the public man was made to feel, in every avenue that he entered, the full measure of the evil he had drawn on his head.

In the course of a year after the ascendancy of Mr. Adams, distinct indications appeared that his administration did not attract any extraordinary proportion of the public confidence. An opposition party was formed, and the Crawford party of this state prepared once more to engage in the approaching contest. The course pursued by different portions of the party will be the subject of other numbers. For the present, however, I will only remark, that it would indeed be a subject of singular curiosity, if another campaign should find men changing their characters, the timid to become firm, and the irresolute decided, while the boldest, the most undaunted, and the most reckless of consequences, should dwindle down to the timid and time serving partisans—“non-committal and fence men.”

During the series of years involved in this protracted struggle, the Crawford party were never strong enough to engage, as a party, in our

state or municipal contests. On local subjects they endeavored to act with their republican brethern, however widely they differed from them in the presidential controversy. The character of the respective contests was kept distinct, and the old party lines continued to be traced with unyielding pertinacity. Men violently opposed in the presidential contest, acted together with equal vehemence in our state elections ; and a curious confusion of parties was exhibited, changing, like the evolutions of a battle ground, as the state and national banner were successively displayed. For reasons which the slightest delicacy will comprehend without recital, Col. Orne took no part in any contest except that which had an immediate reference to the presidential election. He attended no caucus, whether municipal, district, county or state, in reference to state elections, and none in reference to congressional elections, as the Crawford party never ran a candidate. Whether Mr. Gorham, Mr. Webster, or Mr. Putnam succeeded, was a question only for the Adams party ; and each Crawford man supported the candidate who best commanded his personal confidence. In this course Col. O. affected no secrecy. It was notoriously known to all his personal and political friends, who yielded their respect, or affected to yield it, to the motives which governed him. In the midst of his animated exertions to support Mr. Crawford, his unwillingness to engage in state politics was openly proclaimed. As early as 1823 or 1824, when Mr. Eustis was first chosen Governor, this determination of Col. Orne was proclaimed through the press. The central committee of the state, for the Federal party, charged him, in their circular, with holding a valuable judicial trust, through the liberality of their party, and yet engaging with violence in the contest to oppose them—with being actually an editor of the Statesman newspaper. This charge was publicly denied through the columns of the Boston Centinel, and his neutrality in that contest, as well as his want of editorial connexion with the Boston Statesman, distinctly asserted. When did it enter the heart of man, to believe or pretend, the withdrawing from state politics indicated indifference to the national contest ? It remained for other times to wrest a subsequent, similar act, to so absurd a motive,—for wanton calumny to make the charge, and for truth to refute it.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. VI.

The election of Mr. Adams depressed, for a while, the hopes and spirits of the Crawford party. To the excitement of the contest succeeded the languor and prostration of hopeless defeat. To win over to his side the great body of the Crawford party, appeared to be the first and leading object of Mr. Adams' administration. For this purpose the principal officers of his cabinet, and a large portion of his diplomatic appointments, were given to Crawford's political friends. The small party in this state were too weak to render their conciliation an object, and the proffered amnesty was not made to embrace them.

They watched with solicitude the course of their friends in other sections of the country, until they saw, with undissembled satisfaction, that the great mass of the Crawford party were of too elevated a character to be bought. The sentiment given by the leader himself, that Mr. Adams should be judged by his measures, appeared to be that of the country. But the session of Congress, in the winter of 1825-6, shew that an opposition, of a most formidable character to the administration, would be formed. The project of the Panama mission, of entangling our politics with the affairs of other countries, gave the first impulse to the opposition, and rendered it apparent that it would embrace, not only the whole Jackson party, but an immense proportion of that of Mr. Crawford. The discussions on this measure were obviously the commencement of the Jackson campaign; the Crawford party made common cause with the Jackson, and the indications were by no means equivocal that General Jackson would be the candidate.

This measure excited much interest among the Crawford men in this state. The support of the Panama project, and the opposition to it, was the line of division between the two great parties, afterwards designated as those of the administration, and of the opposition. The campaign, in this contest, as in that which had terminated, was opened in this state by Col. Orne, who opposed the Panama project at length, in several numbers, published in the Boston Statesman, under the signature of an "Old Republican." These numbers were written, and many of them in the press, before the injunction of secrecy was removed from the proceedings of the Senate. A comparison of the objections urged by *Old Republican*, with those taken by the leading senators of the Jackson party, as appeared by their speeches afterwards published, will show a perfect concurrence of political and party views. Some of these numbers were republished in the Washington Telegraph, and if the infamous Duff Green was then its editor, of which I am not certain, his own files can bear testimony at what an early period Col. Orne was active in the Jackson cause. My impression is that he was the only writer in the Statesman, at that time, on the politics of the national parties—but as all his writings were under that signature, a reference to the files of the paper can determine it. At that time there was no apparent jealousy in the Crawford or Jackson ranks, as they were indiscriminately called, in this quarter. The first subject of difference, and it was not supposed to be one very serious at the time, was in relation to the state elections in the spring of 1826.

As Mr. Adams had been supported both by the federal and democratic parties in this state, his election necessarily involved some confusion of the old party lines. The administration party embraced the mass of both the old parties, while the opposition party was the minority of each. Still the old party jealousies were too fresh to admit of a perfect consolidation, and federalists and democrats were continued to be the rallying party words of many. For the democratic party to be successful, the union among the Adams and Jackson democrats, in the state elections, was essential. This union was attempted—a proper proportion of candidates was selected for the senate, from each party

in this county, and success crowned the effort. This was in April, 1826. In the following May, the election for representatives came on for the city. A "host" of some thirty or forty, as nearly as I recollect, was to be chosen. Of these the Jackson democrats were entitled to at least one third; but when the list was promulgated it was seen with mortification and astonishment, that two only of those who were nominally Jackson men, Messrs. John K. Simpson and Andrew Dunlap, were upon it; and these were very far from being acceptable selections. The Jackson party was indignant, and considered itself betrayed. Such a connexion was a virtual abandonment of the opposition,—was in effect a surrender of our party colors—was the betrayal and sale of the Jackson cause for the miserable equivalent of making David Henshaw a senator, and John K. Simpson and Andrew Dunlap members of the house. A meeting was held of the principle members of the Jackson party, and their dissatisfaction loudly expressed. They endeavored to effect a more acceptable arrangement, but failed, and determined, sooner than submit to the fatal consequences of such treason, to defeat, if they could, the election. They therefore agreed on a third ticket, with a view of dividing the votes: this was in a great measure accomplished, a few only of the number being chosen, but, most unfortunately, in that number were John K. Simpson and Andrew Dunlap. The high and honorable character of this latter gentleman, will be illustrated by a single anecdote. Two of the gentleman who had met in caucus, indignant at the sale of the Jackson party, and who had pledged themselves to support the third ticket, were zealously beset by Mr. Dunlap, and urged to distribute, at the polls, the *Adams and Clay ticket*. This, he said, would be a masterly manœuvre, would make their peace with the Adams and Clay party, and probably conciliate towards them its support. The sacred pledge of political honor to support the ticket of their nomination, was no obstacle, in the view of this high minded man, in the way of his "*masterly manœuvre*."

Among those who opposed this sale of the Jackson party, Col. Orne was conspicuous, for though aloof from the state contests, except when they directly involved the interests of the presidential controversy, he could not regard this measure with indifference. He viewed it as destructive of the interests of the presidential party—nay more, as an act, on the part of the few men elected, viz. Messrs. Henshaw, Dunlap and Simpson, as a secession from the opposition, and a virtual accession to the Adams party. The event justified his apprehensions. Messrs. Henshaw, Simpson and Dunlap became legislators, and if they ever, during the time, made an effort in the Jackson cause, or uttered a sentiment in its support, it totally escaped the observation of the writer. Upon that subject he is indeed very incredulous to this hour. Their official acts show a determined support for candidates for the U. S. Senate, of Adams men, while the only Jackson man put in nomination was brought forward by that inflexible and honorable partisan, the Hon. Mr. Seaver of Roxbury. There was not however another Jackson man to second his nomination. During this political year the Statesman played its cautious and *non committal* game. The

Jackson cause slumbered in this commonwealth, and as his determined partizans were without a newspaper, the prospects of an opposition party here were exceedingly discouraging. During this political year I had no political conversation with Mr. Henshaw, and do not therefore speak of his sentiments on my own knowledge ; but I have been credibly informed, and believe, that the opinions he expressed of Gen. Jackson, were as full of violence and denunciation as those of any Adams man in the commonwealth. If this be denied, I shall name such authorities as have been stated to me, and leave the fact open for explanation. Repeated attempts were also made to procure the insertion, in the Statesman, of articles published in other quarters of the union, favorable to Gen. Jackson, but without success. Mr. Greene did not care, as he said, a **** for Gen. Jackson, but regarded his own interest. He had suffered enough for the public—he was now for himself. The want of a Jackson paper was the cause of serious regret to the Jackson party. One gentleman, in the warmth of his feelings, offered to subscribe five hundred dollars towards the expense of procuring one.

The Federal friends of Gen. Jackson were in equal perplexity. The most earnest attempts were made by them to induce a federal paper to embark in his cause ; but they were equally disappointed. Neither the advance of funds, nor any other inducement, could effect their object. Towards the close of the political year, however, in the spring of 1827, a Mr. Reinhart attempted to supply the deficiency, and came out with his prospectus for a Jackson paper, to be called the “North American Democrat.” He had no funds of his own to establish a paper, and proposed to publish it but once a week. The project was not well received, for several reasons. A paper was wanted to advocate the cause of Gen. Jackson, independent of other political differences—one of great temper and discretion, as well as of decision and firmness. To Mr. Reinhart’s qualifications the friends of Gen. Jackson generally were strangers. A paper that should be published more frequently, was also desired—but the main reason was one which we shall explain, directly, more at large—a prospect which then began to appear that the Statesman would leave its neutral position, and come out openly for Jackson. Col. Orne had not much confidence in the success of Mr. Reinhart’s project, but, ready as he was always to encourage any effort for his party, he agreed to subscribe towards the establishment of the paper, as much as others, its principal friends. Mr. Reinhart could not raise the funds, and abandoned the project. He left Boston with an intention of procuring, if he could, a connexion with Duff Green, and the Washington Telegraph. Having no acquaintance with Mr. Green, he applied to Col. Orne for a letter of introduction. As that gentleman was also a stranger to Duff Green, he could only give him one, as from a member of the party in whose behalf Mr. Green was engaged. Such a letter was written—and if it was ever delivered, the infamous Duff Green, had, in his own hands, in the spring of 1827, the written testimonial of Col. Orne, of his attachment to the cause. As Col. Orne had very little acquaintance with Mr. Reinhart,

he could conceive no motive for his application to him, other than a belief that he was the prominent friend of Gen Jackson in this quarter. Yet the infamous Duff Green is the man who wishes to impress it on the community that Col. Orne was a *fenceman* until within a year of the election !

The prospect of a more direct and manly course on the part of the Statesman arose from the result of the projected union between the Adams party, and Messrs. Henshaw, Simpson and Dunlap. The principal leaders, as well federal as democratic, of the Adams party, saw its disunion in relation to state politics with undissembled regret. Great efforts were accordingly made to effect an union, or, as it was called in the quaint language of the day, an *amalgamation* ; and they were successful. A ticket was agreed upon both for senators and representatives, in which the Adams party had confidence, and in which the names of Henshaw, Simpson and Dunlap, were not contained. The Jacksonism of the Statesman, therefore, at once flamed out, and men disappointed in state politics began to play their game on the broader scale of the presidential contest. From this moment appeared in their movements a scarcely suppressed resentment towards Col. Orne. His opposition to their union with the Adams and Clay party on terms of such ruinous inequality,—for the sole advantage, in fact, of gratifying the little longings of these would be statesmen, to figure in the newspapers as *honorables* and *squires*,—provoked a hostility which no considerations of political honor or party interest could appease. To injure him was undoubtedly the fixed determination of these men, from that moment, but their hostility was disguised by smiles, and strong expressions of personal attachment. The accession of these men, and of the Statesman newspaper to the Jackson cause, took place in the spring of 1827. But a circumstance soon occurred to show how much reliance could be placed on their consistency.

Early in 1827, if I remember correctly, Mr. Webster was chosen to the U. S. senate, and vacated, in consequence, his seat in the house, as the representative of this district. Mr. Gorham was chosen as his successor—but Mr. Henshaw, whose political elevation had awakened an ambition to take a higher and a wider flight, cast his eyes too on this political boon. If the man had possessed the smallest knowledge of his standing in this community, he might well have anticipated the result. He obtained some four or five hundred votes, out of many thousands. His ambition, however, would have been overlooked as the ebullition of an idle vanity, if his course had not again seriously injured the Jackson party. Instead of offering himself as the candidate of the party, he caught at one of those occasional collisions in the public sentiment which set party discipline at defiance. The tariff policy excited much feeling among our merchants, and many were determined to vote for no candidate, whose opposition to the tariff was not explicit and avowed. Mr. Henshaw tried to mount this hobby, but he would not go—if our merchants wanted an anti-tariff man, they did not want him,

and although the federalists were solicited most piteously to support him, they were hard-hearted enough to turn a deaf ear.

There is something so much like political prostitution in soliciting embraces from whatever quarter they may come.—or courting the favor of any party who may be won, whatever their principles or their objects may be, that the exhibition of it is usually excessively disgusting to the honorable politician. But in this case the dropping of the Jackson flag to raise one against the tariff, was peculiarly injurious to the Jackson cause. The Harrisburg Convention was then, by a master stroke, endeavoring to identify the tariff policy with the Adams administration, and to place Gen. Jackson in the opposing ranks. The line would have been fatal to his prospects. The whole of the middle, and some of the western, as well as all the northern states, would have been driven, irretrievably, from his cause. It was the master spring in motion to overthrow our cause, by compelling Gen. Jackson to avow the tariff policy and lose the south, or disclaim it and sacrifice all the rest of his support. It was a wily game, and it was cunningly played; but Heaven, and our good cause, enabled us to elude it. The only safety to the party, was in separating the Jackson cause from the embarrassing tariff question. At such a moment for a Jackson man in this quarter to identify his cause with the opposition to the tariff, evinced an obtuseness in politics discreditable in school-boys. As Mr. Henshaw was not run as a Jackson candidate, and it is really exceedingly doubtful whether, at that time, he had done an act, or uttered a sentiment, in his favor, the Jackson party might have eluded the folly of the measure, and such as were friendly to the tariff, might even have opposed him with propriety, if the Statesman had not declared in his favor. But this paper was then the only one among us, ostensibly or really friendly to Jackson; its candidate was necessarily viewed as that of the party—and the folly was only made the more injurious by the recollection of the fact, that the Statesman was established to support the *protecting system*, and had always avowed its attachment to it. A more shuffling and contemptible inconsistency was never incurred for the miserable object of gratifying private ambition; and never was the policy of abandoning established principles to run after temporary expedients, more fatally exemplified. To say that Col. Orne disapproved of this measure, had no hand in it, refused it support, is but feebly to express his sentiments.—He viewed it with deep and undissembled disgust and mortification. He expressed his feelings openly, and gained but an additional claim to the hostility of intriguing politicians. They smothered their resentment for a while; but the fire was now kindling beneath the ashes which was soon afterwards to burst out in livid flames, and to rage but the more vehemently for the momentary check which was placed on its progress.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. VII.

After the contest in this congressional district for the choice of a successor to Mr. Webster, there was no public occasion on which the Jackson party was called to act, until the winter following, of 1827—8. The time was rapidly approaching when the presidential contest was to commence in good earnest, and for arrangements to support the candidates at the polls. The recurrence of the anniversary of the 8th of January presented an occasion for a distinct Jackson movement, and it was zealously embraced by the party. The attempts made to coalesce with the Adams men having failed, and Messrs. Henshaw, Simpson and Dunlap, having been rather indignantly driven from that party, a zealous support of the presidential contest was anticipated, as well as a harmonious co-operation among those who had been, in some degree, alienated by the conduct above-mentioned.

The arrangements for a dinner celebration are generally left to those who have a taste for such things, and will take on themselves the trouble and responsibility of making them. The whole control and directions are yielded to those who begin the movement, and this in perfect confidence that they will regard the interests and harmony of the party, in whose behalf they profess to act. On this occasion Mr. Dunlap and some five or six others, assumed the responsibility, and selected the committee of arrangements. The members of the party, as is usual, took no other interest in the proceedings than to place their names on the subscription paper when it was offered them. As this was a military celebration, and Gen. Boyd was not only a distinguished military commander, but among the earliest and most decided of Gen. Jackson's friends, the party, and the public generally, expected to see him preside on the occasion. But the selfish projects, which we shall soon detail more at length, but which were not then suspected by any but the conspirators, led to a different determination by the committee of arrangements, who had been selected carefully for the purpose. The *modest* Mr. Henshaw, who is so unwilling to receive honors from the government, and is still more diffident when they are awarded by his fellow-citizens, had not yet received quite enough of the favors of the party, but consented, very reluctantly no doubt, to bear the honors of the day. The other arrangements were made in a similar spirit of intrigue. The only notice taken of Col. Orne was to receive from him the price of his ticket, and afterwards an additional sum to meet the excess in the expenditures. The low, mean cunning of this course, neither surprised, nor gave him any anxiety. Satisfied that the great body of the Jackson party here would do him justice, he saw with equal indifference and contempt, the jealousy and hostility of the intriguing managers. The 8th of January dinner was followed in March by another official party act. A Jackson caucus was holden, and resolutions were adopted in favor of the Jackson cause; these had been prepared beforehand by the intriguers—but they were submitted to, and hastily revised by a committee of the meeting, on

which Col. Orne was placed. The same meeting nominated a Jackson list of senators, on which Col. Orne's name also was found, but which, it seems, not being intended by the intriguers, gave them great dissatisfaction and uneasiness. It was then perceived that the people could not be made the instruments to gratify their hostility to Col. Orne; and these unprincipled men decided on another expedient, which, for its outrageous character, may challenge comparison with the most execrable profligacy which has ever disgraced the conduct of any party in this government. It was then decided that the Jackson party should be allowed no further voice in the measures which should be adopted. Having the control, in their own hands, of the only paper in the service of the party, they felt able to effect their object, if they could wrap their proceedings in sufficient mystery. And it was not until the full measure of their iniquities appeared, that even suspicion was aroused; for the man must have a black heart, who could have apprehended measures of such enormity. This plan was for the intriguers themselves to take from the people the nomination of electors, and put up such men as they could depend on to aid them, not only for this district, but for the whole commonwealth. The manner in which they effected their object, I shall now proceed to relate.

The Jackson party was nominally organized by the committees called county and ward committees, comprehending from one hundred and twenty, to one hundred and sixty persons, in number. These men had been placed on the committees in a very irregular manner, at various times, in reference to a great variety of political objects; but their choice, although intended to be an annual act of the party, had not been submitted to the people for some years. When preparing for the Jackson campaign, the correct course was to call for a regular organization by the people friendly to the cause, but this might defeat the object. By the rules of the committee, notifications were to be specially sent to each member of the committee, when a meeting was to be convened. As meetings were sometimes necessary to transact business of little import, a common notification, wherein no special object was indicated, would ordinarily procure the attendance of about twenty members only. When the intriguers were prepared for the attempt, they called a meeting of the committees without giving the special notification required by the rules, and without intimating the importance of the object. The consequence was, not one man in five of the committee knew of the meeting, and still fewer knew its object. Of the whole body of ward and county committees, there were short of eighteen members present. The business was then declared to be to choose delegates, about twenty in number, I think, on behalf of the friends of Gen. Jackson in Boston, to attend, what they were to call, a legislative convention. The meeting accordingly proceeded to choose twenty delegates, carefully designating, of course, a majority who were in the secret. They, of course, also, were especially careful that Col. Orne was not of the number; he, indeed, was wholly uninformed that the project was in agitation. The same number of committee men then proceeded to designate two of the candidates for

electors, living in this district, whom they should wish to have *supported in the legislative convention*; and in this little body of prepared men, David Henshaw and John K. Simpson got the majority of votes.—Whether both these gentlemen were present or not, or what number of their brothers, I do not remember.

The same steps were taken, with the same secrecy, in the neighboring towns of Cambridge, Charlestown, and Roxbury, and between thirty and forty of such delegates chosen altogether. At length the time arrived for holding the legislative convention. In the legislature, out of four or five hundred members, there were perhaps ten, willing to support Gen. Jackson. There was not, of Jackson men, an actual representation of more than one *fiftieth* part of the commonwealth. These thirty or forty delegates, with the eight or ten members, composed the legislative convention, and were to set up a candidate for elector of president, in every *district of the state*, and two candidates for the whole commonwealth. When the convention assembled, Mr. Dunlap, on behalf of the Boston delegates, informed that body, that the Jackson party of Boston had selected as their candidate for the *district*, John K. Simpson, and offered, as a candidate for the commonwealth, David Henshaw. Other candidates were then named for the other districts, and for the remaining elector at large,—a central committee was appointed with Mr. Dunlap as its chairman,—and the convention adjourned. The Jackson party of Boston were then informed that the *legislative convention* had nominated for this district, Messrs. Henshaw and Simpson. It was in vain the president of the convention, a member of the legislature, and one ignorant of the intrigue, suggested to the Boston delegates, that they would perhaps do better to nominate Col. Orne for elector at large, and Mr. Henshaw for the district—but this, he soon found, would not answer the object of the delegates. Col. Orne was not even to be noticed as a member of the party, no, not so much as to be placed on the central committee. When these proceedings came to light, they excited, as might naturally be supposed, a general burst of indignation. Meetings were holden by the party, and inquiries were made why these things were so. A committee was chosen to examine into the proceedings, and see if it were too late for the people in the districts to select their own candidates. This committee held a conference with the central committee, but were told by Mr. Dunlap its chairman, that as the central committee were chosen by a legislative convention representing the state, they could have nothing to do with the people in this district, and must proceed to publish the nominations agreed upon. A second interview was had, and the danger of dividing the friends of Gen. Jackson insisted on—but Mr. Dunlap thought “a division would be no evil,—that as the party, by its union, was not strong enough to effect a vote, its division would occasion no injury, and the party might as well be divided as otherwise.” He who is acquainted with political intrigue can be at no loss to comprehend this language. It were as much as to say, “we have the only paper of the party, and can represent these things to the public as we please—we, with this newspaper, will obtain all the offices,

and the fewer there are to be competitors with us the better—the smaller the number of friends Gen. Jackson has, the greater will be the chance for each to receive an appointment at his hands.” It was accordingly decided that there should be no attempt to prevent a division. Circumstances to which I shall hereafter refer, soon demonstrated that the object was to make Mr. Henshaw the collector, Mr. Dunlap the district attorney, and Mr. Greene the postmaster. But the people were not satisfied with Mr. Dunlap’s reasoning, and a public meeting was loudly called for. Open discord in our ranks, however, was an evil which the most discreet were unwilling to incur for any consequences whatever. Mr. Henshaw, to allay the excitement, denied that his object was any office, and pledged himself sacredly that, under no circumstances whatever, would he be a candidate for the collectorship. Mr. Simpson went round to the people, almost with tears in his eyes, imploring their compassion. It would be so humiliating to him to be compelled to decline, although he must, if they insisted upon it; and if they would suffer his nomination to remain, he would pledge himself never to be a candidate again for any public office. Mr. Dunlap thanked his God, that he was not a candidate for any office, and would take none in the gift of the government of the United States. Other people might be office seekers, but he was above it. All acknowledged the error and regretted it, but insisted upon it that it was too late to be retrieved, and the interests of the party required that we should make the best of it. Influenced by such considerations the party consented to overlook the enormity of the transactions; but to prevent such intrigues again, by the monopoly of the press, determined that a new paper should be established. In pursuance of this determination the Jackson Republican soon after came into being.

Upon this state of things, one reflection must be obvious to the most common observer. Men who are confident of obtaining the support of the people, can have no motive for taking the nomination of candidates out of their hands. Mystery and management will never be resorted to, when success can be openly obtained. There is always some odium attached to intrigue, and honors that are freely bestowed by the people are much more grateful than those which are wrested from them. It is conscious weakness, and not strength, which resorts to management—secrecy is suited to artifice, but power seeks the light.

If the honest mind turns with disgust from the exhibition of such depravity, it is difficult to characterize the sentiment which must be excited when the motives which led to it are laid open. This must be the object of the next number; and in approaching so disgusting a subject, I am sensible of a sentiment which almost arrests the hand, and turns it from the uplifting veil,—it is shame that it was a transaction of my countrymen.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. VIII.

When a party constitutes but a small minority in a town, county, district or commonwealth, its most incessant aim should be to increase

its numbers ; and the obvious course to attain this object is to preserve harmony among friends, confirm the wavering, win over the neutral, and conciliate opponents. Numbers must be increased by making the doubtful become partisans, and converting enemies to friends. When men are governed by motives of public good, or party success, it is impossible that these means should not be used, or that the object should be disregarded. But when views of self interest alone predominate, the natural results are dissensions among friends, and jealousy of any increase which may augment the competitors for the favors of the government. When men flatter themselves with being viewed as the leaders of their party, they are still more acutely jealous of the accession of those whose superior qualifications, or greater weight of character, may place that ascendancy in jeopardy. When circumstances have given a prominence to an individual which has already attracted the observation of his party, and made him certain of receiving its favors, if the contest were then to finish, he views with undissembled uneasiness the efforts of others in the cause, lest the result should deprive him of his comparative pre-eminence. But if such an individual, besides the love of distinction, has fixed his mind on a public trust, of great value, the exertions of a man whom he may view as a rival, and fear as a competitor, excites the worst feelings of his bosom ; and the disposition to put him down is the master passion before which every other consideration must give way. If there be a single circumstance which can add to the fury which rages in his breast, it is the consciousness that the advantages he possesses over his rival are accidental, and unmerited, and are liable justly to be lost on the slightest occasion. If such a man be without substantial claims to distinction, and destitute of political honor, he will turn on his rival like the infuriated tiger, rabid for blood. His accidental advantage will be defended at every inch, and, before he will part with it, he will put in requisition every nerve and every artifice that his nature or evil passions can have supplied him with ; and will seize on every occasion to his advantage that may offer, as if his life's blood depended on his efforts. He who watches the conduct of such a man will see malice, and envy, and hatred, in hideous and revolting exhibition. Every step of his adversary will be obstructed—every movement opposed—every favor bestowed on him viewed with deep and bitter jealousy ; and if the danger cannot otherwise be repelled, malice and defamation will fasten on his character, and intrigue, management and artifice will aim at his destruction.

We have known a man who, from a circumstance of no great moment, had gained through the country notoriety as a Jackson man in this commonwealth, and who was indiscreet enough to acknowledge that he saw with regret any progress in the Jackson cause among us, as it detracted from his own advantageous position. "I stand well enough as it is," he says ; "the smaller the party, the better my own chance." He acted for himself, and he failed.

The control of the Statesman paper had given to its leaders a factitious consequence which they were determined to maintain at every

hazard. The paper avouched for the eminence of its friends—who could dispute it? It proclaimed prominent in the Jackson cause whom it pleased—it nominated candidates—it chose committees of arrangements—it made presidents of dinners—and it announced the leaders of the party. The evil of a single press, and that under the control of interested men, is one that all will deeply feel who are subjected to it: but it was borne by the Jackson party with great equanimity. To aid the impression the paper was endeavoring to make, resort was had to other little artifices. If a stranger, distinguished in the Jackson cause, arrived in the city, he would naturally inquire of the Jackson paper for his prominent friends—or if inquiry was not made, some minion, established in the great public houses, would be always ready to give notice of his arrival. He would be told of the Statesman leaders—they would be brought to him,—and he would carry to a distance an impression of their eminence. When an honorable man is placed, by the nature of the party contest, among dishonorable associates, who possess advantages and resort to artifices like these, he must indeed be high in the public confidence, if he be not, in the end, a victim.

This state of feeling will readily explain the jealousy manifested by the Statesman leaders towards the federal friends of Gen. Jackson, in this section of the country. No matter how honestly they had become, or how long they had been, active members of the great republican party. No matter how wide the gulf which had been placed between them, and the party and the politics of federalists. No matter what *persecutions* they may have suffered in defending their cause. It was enough for them to be denounced by the Statesman, that they were men of so much character and standing, as to endanger the accidental advantages of the self-proclaimed leaders. The jealousy of superior qualifications and standing is one of the most common qualities of the low and vulgar, and it was felt, in all its energy, by the controllers of the Statesman. Who then can wonder that they denounced, instead of conciliating, the federal friends of the General, the Lyman party as they termed it? If the support of Gen. Jackson had been the object of the Statesman, its leaders would have hailed the accession of such men to the republican cause, with undissembled delight. But when office only was in view, they regarded their approach as bringing danger to their object. They struggled for office, and they sacrificed the cause.

But little sagacity is required to discover in this temper of the intriguers the cause of their hostility to Col. Orne. They well knew that there was no other man in the state who took so deep an interest in the presidential question, had devoted himself so arduously to the cause, or had been in it so long. They knew his disinclination to engage unnecessarily in state politics; but of his readiness to devote every thing to the national interest, whenever the party would be ready to engage in it. But they also knew that he beheld with contempt the sacrifice of that cause in pursuit of little objects of self-interest; and still more, the surrender of it to conciliate the Adams party.

His dislike to the coarse ribaldry of the paper, indiscriminately poured out on the state and city authorities, as well as the opposing presidential parties—bringing the then Jackson cause into disrepute, and reducing the paper to a state of loathsome and disgusting degradation—was also known to its wretched leaders. That he should excite their jealousy and revenge, neither surprised nor alarmed him,—but he did not expect that he was to be sacrificed by having the people ousted of their rights, and the authority of the party usurped by a half o' dozen intriguers, under the imposing appellation of a legislative convention.

This last outrageous proceeding determined that gentleman to fathom the object which lay at the bottom of the intrigue. The measure was not without its difficulties. The leaders did not dare to avow hostility until every measure was in train to insure their success. The selection of electoral candidates was the last act of the drama, and when that was effected they felt masters of the game. Until then, they were profuse in their protestations of regard for Col. Orne ; but after it, they no longer dissembled their hostility. A short time, however, enabled him to unravel the intrigue, and the astonishment it excited when it was laid bare in its naked deformity, can be better imagined by the community than expressed by the writer.

The secret was obtained from Mr. *John K. Simpson*, a goodly maker of beds, coverlets and carpets, and the candidate for ELECTOR for the DISTRICT OF SUFFOLK ! It was apprehended that in case of Gen. Jackson's election, the public sentiment would designate Col. Orne as the collector of the port. But this office had been assigned by the leaders of the Statesman, to Mr. *David Henshaw*, another candidate for the office of elector, FOR THE WHOLE COMMONWEALTH ! But the reason is still more surprising. The party objected to Col. Orne, as Mr. Simpson avowed, because he did not proffer, beforehand, to the party, in the event of his success, the disposition of the subordinate offices in the custom house,—that he did not promise offices to others, if he should obtain one himself—that he had too much independence of character to be controlled by the leaders of the Statesman ! ! !

The party were determined to have, Mr. Simpson said, a collector who would have NO WILL OF HIS OWN, and who, when his *friends* handed him a LIST of the PERSONS TO BE REMOVED, and of OTHERS TO BE APPOINTED in their places, should make the removals and appointments, WITHOUT ASKING A QUESTION!—And he soon further explained whom he meant, by the "*friends*" of the collector. He, Mr. Simpson, himself, he said, was the ONLY MAN, being totally disinterested, who was competent to judge what JACKSON MEN OUGHT TO BE APPOINTED ; and he alone was the man to MAKE OUT THE LIST which the collector should receive for his implicit guide ! Mr. Nathaniel Greene, he said, was to be appointed postmaster, and, I think, Mr. Dunlap, district attorney, while Mr. David Henshaw was their man for collector. He, Col. Orne, might have the *naval office*, if he would take it, but he must then, *instantly*, decide ; for if he would not agree to it then, he should not have it at all, nor any other appointment. It is needless to remark, that Col. Orne treated the proposition with as much contempt

as he felt for the maker of it, and thenceforth refused further intercourse with the man.

Two inquiries will naturally arise from this astonishing disclosure. Did Mr. Simpson speak the sentiments of the Statesman party, and did Mr. Henshaw know the motives for supporting him for the office? The leaders of this party were soon afterwards invited to meet with other friends of Jackson, all of whom had, until then, acted with the Statesman in supporting their presidential candidate. Those statements were openly made by Col. Orne, in presence of Mr. Simpson, and one or two brothers of Mr. Henshaw, besides many warm personal friends. Mr. Simpson was called upon to deny or confirm the statement, but he did not deny it. The facts became notorious to the Jackson party. The motive for selecting those gentlemen for electors, and taking the right from the people, now became apparent. "We must give to our candidates for office the character of party leaders—we must confer upon them all the influence and weight in our power—the country must be made to believe that they are in fact the chief friends of General Jackson—the other candidates for electors, being also selected by our means, will act in concert with our own, and aid our object. The whole organization of the Jackson party will be under our control, and the offices will be ours." Such was the artful policy which this discussion elicited. And the movers were not disappointed—they did obtain the offices, and now hold them, proud monuments of the success of political intrigue. Subsequent circumstances developed the ramifications of the scheme, and the many men who had received promises of subordinate appointments could be pointed out familiarly in the streets. Here was the invincible bond of union amongst the Statesman party, which made men so devoted to one another—so tenacious of retaining accidental advantages—so hostile to any increase of the party, and so jealous of the rest of Gen. Jackson's supporters. Here was the theme of discord, and the source of division.

Who can wonder that the indignation of the respectable members of the party was excited? Mr. Simpson quailed under it, and begged to be forgiven. Mr. Henshaw disavowed, in the most solemn manner, that he was a candidate for the office, and pledged himself he would not accept it, if it should be offered him. The renunciation of personal objects at length soothed the irritated feelings of the party, and gave a promise of returning harmony. It was decided, however, to be essential that another paper should be established to guard against further danger from monopoly. The Jackson Republican therefore soon came into being, and ranked among its sincere friends the most respectable of those who had been hitherto active in the Statesman organization. The electoral ticket, objectionable as it was, was supported by the whole body of the Jackson republicans. They made the sacrifice on the altar of party concord. They embraced it as the only alternative to the division of the party. And yet Mr. Henshaw is collector, Mr. Greene post master, and Mr. Dunlap district attorney. And many have received appointments in the

custom house, whose designation to such trusts was familiarly known long before Gen. Jackson was chosen to be president. But, on a member of the Jackson republican party, not a trust has been conferred. Nay, they have shared worse even than the friends of Mr. Adams; for many, very many of these have been retained, but Jackson republicans have been dismissed from the offices they actually filled.

But does Mr. Simpson exercise a control over appointments in the custom house—does any thing shackle Mr. Henshaw in discharge of the most important duties entrusted to his care? The writer will, for the present, leave these questions to be answered by others who have better means of judging than himself. He knows little of the management of the Statesman party now—he makes no inquiries, and concerns himself as little upon the subject as perhaps any other man in the community. But of those who have knowledge on the subject, I will ask one or two questions.

Have any, and if so, how many of Mr. Simpson's relations, and family connexions, received appointments in the custom house?

Were they men otherwise entitled to the appointments? what services have they rendered to the Jackson cause, and how long have they been members of the party?

Is Mr. Simpson understood to have great influence in these appointments—is he much courted for his influence—is it successful when exerted?

But one circumstance has been mentioned to me, on such respectable authority that I cannot, if I would, view it as calumnious. I do not vouch for its truth—I do not know it—but it is impossible to refuse to attach to it some degree of credit, from the respectable channel through which it reaches me.

Every one here knows what a degree of excitement has been produced among our best citizens by the indiscriminate proscriptions at the custom house, and how exceedingly injurious they have been to the popularity of the administration. A gentleman who is said to have been friendly to Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Robert G. Shaw, it is reported, remonstrated with him against such inpolitic changes. The same rumor also avers that Mr. Henshaw replied in substance, "that the removal of so many men was like cutting off his right arm—but he was *compelled* to it, he could not help it." If this be a mistake, it can be easily corrected, and no one will more readily contradict it than the writer. But if it be true, what is the nature of the *compulsion*—why cannot Mr. Henshaw help it?

The proscription of Col. Orne was successful—the motive of it was avowed. He would not hold the office in trust for the benefit of others—he would not be controlled by irresponsible men in the discharge of its duties. It is a trust of immense importance to the people of the nation—the correct discharge of its duties deeply affects the honor of the government. Conferred by the authority of the president, and sanctioned by the great council of the nation, the senate of the United States, there is a deep responsibility to them as to the manner in which its duties shall be performed. The solemnity of an oath is also added

to the other sacred sources from whence the obligation of faithfulness is derived. Can a man be fit for such a trust who surrenders up, to the guidance of others, that judgment, and that discretion, for which the highest authorities of the nation have confided the great interests to his hands? Is independence of character, and stern integrity, of no consequence? Who is the man who would not rather have failed, with Col. Orne, if opposed for such a cause, than have obtained this important post at the expense of his independence?

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. IX.

The publication of the Jackson Republican alarmed, excessively, the managers of the Statesman. Possessing the entire control of that paper, and having completed every arrangement for the campaign by which the whole merit of the contest, among us, would be ascribed to them, they saw, in imagination, the golden boon of office within their grasp, if the struggle should terminate in favor of our candidate. Their secret manœuvring had been so far eminently successful; and they chuckled, exultingly, that no chance to encounter them remained to their victims. The mask was now thrown off, and the hostility which had hitherto governed them in secret, was openly avowed. The Statesman, of course, would not expose their duplicity, and an exposure in any other paper would be readily ascribed to the malice of political opposition. The establishment of another Jackson paper was a contingency they had not foreseen, and it carried dismay and consternation into their corrupt ranks. They were therefore determined to oppose it with every nerve, and at the hazard of every consequence.

And yet the ground of their opposition, and the manner in which it should be manifested, gave them great perplexity. Why should a friend of Jackson oppose an effort in his favor? Why should his party try to prevent its own increase? What exclusive right had one portion of his friends to advocate his election, more than another? Why should a number of newspapers in his favor be less propitious to his cause than one? Their reason, that it might lessen their supposed exclusive pretensions to office, was one which would be received with as little favor by the party, as it was destitute of merit. The sordid selfishness of the motive, too, was one which would suffuse their faces with the blush of shame, if that emotion could be generated in their bosoms;—or, at all events, make them shy of its avowal. To oppose openly, therefore, an effort in favor of Jackson was out of the question, for it would necessarily lead to an exposure of their conduct;—resort was therefore had to a course more consistent with their safety, their habits, and character. The paper and its friends might be secretly denounced, where the slander could not be followed and refuted. Honest but prejudiced democrats were to be alarmed with the story that it was a federal paper in disguise, secretly in the interests of the Hartford Convention. The federal friends of Jackson were informed that

its object was a division of the Jackson party—although its avowed and ostensible motive was an union among the friends of Gen. Jackson, regardless of former differences : and the party collectively was told that the friends of the Jackson Republican were *new men*, fence men and trimmers, who came in, after the heat and burden of the day were over, to dispute the services of those who had been, since the *first* hour, laboring in the vineyard. The reputation of the Statesman, as a Jackson paper, would procure credit for its assertions by those who did not know its character, and of course, for the private assurances of those who were known to be its editors, or avowed to be its friends ; while its abstaining from an open denunciation would be ascribed to its forbearance, and generous sacrifices for the common good.

There are men, and abundance of men too, who never imagine that to know the merits of a controversy it is of any importance to hear more than one side. There are those who never suspect that private and selfish purposes can influence men in their public conduct, or that intrigue can ever concern itself with the affairs of politics. The want of competition, such men cannot dream to be productive, frequently, of injury to a party ; they consider a monopoly of the press as unsusceptible of being applied to selfish purposes, or to any thing but patriotic ends, and the public good. For them to believe a story, it was enough for the acknowledged friends of the Statesman to tell it, although it ascribed innocence to themselves, and depravity to their opponents. The fair mind, the sagacious politician, and the experienced in political intrigues, would suspect, at once, that in a controversy there may be wrong on both sides, and, by a bare possibility, fault exclusively on the side of the informer. And that the information was even more liable to suspicion, for being so secretly communicated that the denounced party was unable to reply to it. These stories however had effect, and several conductors of Jackson newspapers manifested hostility to the Jackson Republican.

It would be difficult to conceive, in the conducting of party affairs, circumstances more trying than those which attended the political birth of the new paper. The rancorous malignant hostility of the Statesman managers was perfectly well known. Their unceasing activity to poison the friends of the cause against us, in all parts of the Union, by private correspondence, was believed on strong circumstantial evidence. Their attempts to prevent support being afforded to the paper, were ascertained in every step of its progress. They were before the public as candidates of the party, by the fruits of a disgraceful intrigue. They were proclaimed its devoted leaders in every movement that the Statesman could give rise to. They were, and had been, apparently, in possession of the whole field of services and merits. Men who were not familiar with the affairs of the party, knew not that the friends of the Jackson Republican had been, hitherto, among the principal supporters of the Statesman, not only in its political discussions, and its organized party efforts, but also in affording it pecuniary aid, as well by subscription, as by loans. The Jackson republican party was represented as a *new* party, while in fact it was only a part,

and a most important part of the entire Jackson party, which had collectively supported the Statesman, until the paper was discovered to be the organ, and instrument, of partial, selfish, and mercenary intriguers. To remain silent was to leave to the Statesman, exclusively, all the merit of the common sacrifices and services in the Jackson cause. It was a division of the common stock by which every thing was given to one side only, while the other must begin the contest again, with nothing. The swarming bees carried nothing with them to the new hive, and the fruits of common and devoted labor were retained by those who continued in the old. Silence was an unequal game for the Jackson republicans, and one very dangerous for them to play it.—They should have insisted that the self-nominated candidates should be withdrawn, and the people permitted to agree upon others.—They should have called for an entire and satisfactory organization of the party. They should have exacted from the wrong doers justice, and if divisions ensued, the responsibility should have been placed where the wrong lay. As the Statesman was no longer the paper of the party, its support should have been left exclusively to the *faction* which it served.

But other councils prevailed. The union, or apparent union of the party, at best but a small minority, was deemed an object paramount to all other considerations. Every one who adhered to the Statesman, denounced and endeavored to destroy the Jackson Republican, while not a subscription was withdrawn from the former paper, by the friends of the other. All the advantages of silence were on the side of the Statesman—all the prejudices against us; while the publication of the truth would at once have changed the balance. The power of the party, in the eyes of the nation, was given up to them, while it lay with us whether they should retain it, or surrender it up to those from whom they had unjustly usurped it. To endure in silence such wrongs, to encounter such hazards without attempting to avert them, required a degree of disinterestedness and self-denial which a party has seldom, if ever, been called upon to manifest. And, yet it was manifested, nobly, by the Jackson republicans. The wrongs were endured, the sacrifice was made, and they who can be insensible to its merits are welcome to visit us with renewed injuries, and additional indignities. For the harmony of the Jackson party we endured it all. We received the blow, in Christian meekness, on one cheek, and turned the other to the aggressor. They took from us our coat, and we gave them our cloak also. We set an example of forbearance which challenges rivalry, and may well defy imitation. Let men turn over the columns of the Jackson Republican, and then say, if so much prudence, discretion, and forbearance were ever before manifested amidst the discordant interests of a divided party. We made no allusions to the subject of the discord—we left unassailed the usurped acquisitions of our mortal foes—we wrote not a letter to answer the imputations which our enemies were pouring like torrents on our head, through all the sections of the country. We continued our subscriptions to that prefligate paper, and when men who preferred ours, but felt unable to incur the expense of

both, manifested a willingness to drop the Statesman, we advised them against it, being determined that our efforts should not interfere with its support. Nay, more, we recognized so far our, apparently, fellow laborers in the cause, that we noticed the vile paper itself, and republished articles from its columns. And, as the last and greatest sacrifice which a party could make, we gave our votes, at the polls, for that most detestable list of electors, selected in fraud, and with the avowed object of injuring ourselves and our cause.

Such sacrifices can only be made by a party conscious of the high rectitude of its purposes, and of its own extensive claims to the public respect. No party could be capable of such sacrifices but one of an elevated character, and the Jackson republican party could proudly compare, in the respectability of its elements, and in the high and honorable character of its course, with any which was ever organized in this mighty republic. With conscious manliness it left every imputation, and every slander, to be answered by its *acts*. Like that of the high minded Jefferson, on whose devoted head the torrents of calumny were profusely poured, its noblest answer was its *life*. It relied on its rectitude, and it relied not in vain. The whole host of the Statesman assailed each of our friends, with prayers, imprecations and threats—they promised to reward treachery to us with the offices of the republic—they threatened to visit fidelity with proscription and persecution,—but they promised and threatened in vain. Few were they who yielded to seduction, or were overcome by fear. The Jackson Republican went on, and feeble as the Jackson party was thought to be, a handsome encouragement, for the time, was found for two papers, where it was apprehended there was insufficient for one. A new impulse was given to the public mind, and the Statesman paper, instead of losing, was found, as its publishers acknowledged, to be a gainer by the competition. The fidelity of the Jackson republican party was unassailable, for the strongest of possible reasons,—it was not a party of *office seekers*, and had no interests for hopes and fears, promises and threats, to action; while the Statesman party was made up almost exclusively from the lowest ranks of our people, and of those who aimed to acquire a personal benefit by the contest. Let the names of those men appear who were residents in this city, and dined with the Statesman party in the Washington gardens, and I will hazard any thing on the fact, that not fifty could be found in the whole number who have not been applicants for office since the election of the president; and I will encounter an equal hazard, that of the party who filled, on the same occasion, Faneuil Hall, there were not twenty who were, or under any circumstances, intended to be, applicants. They supported the cause from an honest preference of its candidate, for the honor of the country, and for the security of its republican institutions. These were the elements, and the only elements, which could form a party capable of doing what they did, forbearing as they forbore, or enduring what they suffered.

One of the first and most happy effects of the project of the new paper, was a willingness on the part of Gen. Jackson's friends, with-

out regard to old party lines, to unite in his support. Among those who had once been members of the federal party, and still more among those who had come of age since the old party contest had terminated, there were many men, including some of the most respected in the community, and of the very highest grade of character, who were in favor of Gen. Jackson. They had refused, constantly, to act with the Statesman party, and that gentlemanly print had imputed the refusal, and gained some belief in the imputation, to an unwillingness to act on republican grounds with the great Jackson party. Their refusal, however, arose altogether from a different motive. The low and scurrilous character of that print, and the violent and abusive course of its supporters, were the only obstacle. The Statesman party did every thing it could, privately, to court their support. They ascribed the intemperance of the language of the paper to policy, directed, not to this commonwealth, but to Maine and New Hampshire, where the contest, they said, was of a democratic character. And though it was not a course adapted to the circumstances of this state, yet as any course would fail to gain us the vote of Massachusetts, they must regard exclusively the policy best suited to those states. The denunciation of federalism they reconciled with the best personal feelings towards the federal friends of Gen. Jackson among us, and avowed their willingness to act in harmony with them when the policy of their course had attained its object. In this spirit Mr. Francis Baylies, Gen. Lyman and others, were invited to Faneuil Hall, at the 8th of January celebration, in 1828, and the former gentleman actually attended. A Jackson federalist was also put on their central committee for the state, when the farce of a legislative convention was gotten up. A Jackson federalist, by their aid, has been appointed to the collectorship of Newburyport, and another offered an inspectorship under the collector in Boston. It was not Jackson federalism they feared, but the rivalry of Jackson federalists—and they refused to acknowledge the party character of these gentlemen, unless they would act in subordination to themselves. They feared the *standing* of men, not their *politics*, and welcomed every *follower*, of whatever party he might be, but were jealous of all equals or *leaders*.

The federal friends of Jackson had too much respect for themselves to prevent the possibility of their hailing under the Statesman. With a perfect disposition to make common cause with its friends, they could acknowledge no leaders but men of a different grade of character. They had suffered long, and endured much, for want of a newspaper to represent their views. They had made, in their zeal for the cause, liberal and even munificent offers to an established federal paper, to induce it to come out for their presidential candidate. These efforts were, however, unsuccessful. They supported the party with unshaken constancy, and untiring zeal; but supported it, like many others, aloof from the party who acted with the Statesman. When the Jackson Republican was established, they afforded it, most cheerfully, their support; and by resolutions adopted in the most public manner, announced their adhesion to the republican party. Their self re-

spect, and the character of their republican associates, no longer kept them aloof; and they came out, like men, for the republican candidate. The Statesman immediately began to denounce the federal friends of the President, and—it is almost incredible, and while I state it emotions of disgust almost dash the pen from my unwilling hand—there were a few federalists, candidates for appointments, who adhered to the Statesman party, and joined in the denunciation of themselves. If there be a class of men whose conduct defies language to convey the disgust which it excites in our bosom, it is those mercenary apostates, who seek to acquire an office by loading their past life with infamy.

But, thank Heaven, the numbers of such men were few! The great mass acted with the Jackson Republican, shared its labors, endured its sacrifices, and participate in its fate. Neither threats, nor seductions, nor persecutions, can separate them from honorable associates. They would have been happier in our success, but they remain firm and inflexibly faithful in our misfortunes. They submit to their fate with a fortitude which awakens our admiration. Excellent men!—the day may yet come when you will cease to stand as monuments to warn political partisans, that it is not always that merit commands success, or that lofty rectitude can escape the machinations of unprincipled intriguers.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. X.

DUFF GREEN.

The course of events now brings forward a character which presents some extraordinary claims to our notice. Duff Green stands in that relation to the present administration that, as the gallant Stark said to his troops while pointing to the enemy, *they must kill him, or he will kill them*. Before I proceed, however, to a particular notice of the conduct of this gentleman towards our political friends, I shall pause, one moment, to consider his relation to the party, his services to, and his standing in it.

The assertions regarding Duff Green's standing with the government are of the most various character; the opposition presses insist upon it that his influence is almost unbounded, while the friends of the president deny him any influence, and insist that the government regard him with a disgust almost approaching to abhorrence. The allegation of his influence is undoubtedly meant as the severest reproach which can be made of the president, and the sensitiveness of the Jackson party under it, and their warmth in repelling it, show that they view it as a libel of a most pernicious tendency. These apparently opposite positions are to be received with caution, and, when properly modified, they are not only reconcileable, but probably are, or rather have been, true.

I am perfectly satisfied that it is the determination of the president to confine Mr. Green to his proper pursuits—to repel his interference

with the business of the cabinet, and to discountenance his intermeddling with local appointments. There is no man in the country whose character and feelings would sooner throw off dictation, or an attempt at dictation ; or repel a familiar approach from so objectionable a quarter. I am also inclined to believe, though I am not certain of the fact, that the president's opinion of Duff Green is very far from being favorable. But the assertion that Duff Green has heretofore had no influence, or very little influence, is one exceedingly difficult to be reconciled with well known facts ; and in spite of my ardent wish it were so, I cannot credit it. That he has had no direct influence with the president, I really believe, but that he has had some, nay an almost preponderating influence with some members of the government, and has reached the president through his constitutional advisers, but too effectually, is in the highest degree probable. But intrigue is dangerous only while it tracks its way in darkness—the light that breaks on its path is a barrier to its progress. Duff Green has accomplished much heretofore, but recent circumstances strongly indicate that the reptile is now *scotched*.

As events which he, in conjunction with others, has had an active share in effecting, I will mention a few—The removal of Mr. M'Lean from the post office, a measure which notwithstanding the favorable estimate of the character of the incumbent, has been viewed by the whole Jackson party with profound regret. In Duff Green's recent visit to Boston, he boasted with admirable complacency that the credit of this measure was due entirely to him.

The appointment of Isaac Hill to be a comptroller—a measure deeply injurious to the party, and especially to our New England interests.

The disappointment of the wishes of an immense proportion of the Jackson party (the *original* Jackson party) of Pennsylvania, in regard to Mr. Baldwin, and the defeat of the expected nomination of Gen. Barnard as governor of that state. The Jackson party in Pennsylvania, I am respectably informed, regard *any* connexion of such a man as Duff Green with the government, as one of the severest trials which their fidelity can be taxed to endure. *It will be apparent before long.*

The policy, on every other ground inexplicable, of the government towards the Jackson republican party of this state. And, on this point, the facts are remarkable. Immediately after the result of the election was known, Duff Green sought a quarrel with the Jackson republican, (his motives will soon be adverted to,) and proclaimed that the party should not be recognized by the government, but should be driven into the opposition. It has not been recognized by the government, and though it be not in opposition, no measure has been left undone which Duff Green could effect, or influence, to place it there.

As early as January last, long before Gen. Jackson reached Washington—long before his cabinet was anticipated—Duff Green proclaimed, through the Telegraph, that Col. Orne should receive no appointment under this administration. He has received none, although presented as a candidate by almost every respectable supporter of the

president in this state, and supported by many of the highest and most influential members of the Adams party. He was the candidate, and the only candidate, of the Jackson republican party—a party respectable in numbers, and as respectable in standing and character, as any party that was ever formed in this commonwealth. *But Duff Green determined that the party should be destroyed.*

Before Gen. Jackson reached Washington, Duff Green pledged himself to support Mr. Dunlap as district attorney, Mr. Green as post master, and Mr. Henshaw as collector; and they have all been appointed. The means by which he has effected his object I do not know, and I cannot comprehend—but he has succeeded, in spite of the president's known determination to keep Duff Green from meddling with such subjects.

For now nearly one year he has denounced the Jackson republican party, and the Jackson republican paper, united, as it now is, with the Bulletin. He has endeavored to interrupt confidence between that party and the government—and has succeeded. A confidential intercourse has not been kept up. The party have felt their wrongs—they have looked with confidence to the president for redress—and *they still look.* Duff Green, is at the bottom of this mischief. The wretch has taken advantage of the determination of the party to bear every thing rather than incur the risk of a schism. For a year he has denounced the party, its candidates, and its paper. We have borne it in silence—endured, *meekly*, his contumely and his slander—and yet despised him as heartily during the whole time, as we despise him now. But the power of endurance is limited—there is a “drop which will make the waters of bitterness overflow,” and he has poured it into our cup. Let him now taste them himself.

The election of the president by an overwhelming vote, gave Duff Green such confidence in his strength, that he was willing to spare a large portion of the president's friends—yet, as long as the contest was doubtful, or the strength of the party uncertain, he invoked their forbearance by every motive of party discipline, or patriotism. Before the administration was fairly in office, he began to electioneer for Mr. Calhoun, and to bargain with one portion of the friends of Gen. Jackson to effect the downfall of another. His object has been to sow dissension, and effect disunion. He insults the president, treats his cabinet with rudeness, and attempts to dictate to the representatives of the people. He wields the great engine which has been put into his hands, against the congress which placed it there, the government which gave it authority, and the party who support it. He has abandoned the Jackson cause to take up that of Mr. Calhoun, and strives to destroy the present party to build up another. He is ruining the party which made him, *and will ruin the candidate he supports.*

Duff Green obtained, it is well known, a sufficient number of votes to procure the printing of congress. This might imply some degree of confidence on the part of the Jackson party, in his talents or character. I, however, am satisfied that such an implication would be at war with the fact, and would do gross injustice to the high minded

leaders of the Jackson party. The writer is personally acquainted with many members both of the senate and house of representatives, who were supporters of General Jackson, and who stand, in the public estimation, second to none among his friends. These men spoke of Duff Green without reserve. Their detestation of him was beyond any thing I had ever known of the feelings of statesmen towards a party printer. The Journal, or Intelligencer, at Washington, do not speak of Duff Green with half the contempt and abhorrence, that was openly manifested by the most eminent Jackson men in congress. "I shall vote for that contemptible man to be printer," said they, "as a party act—but never before have I been called upon to offer, on the altar of party, a sacrifice so revolting to my feelings."

The public however would naturally ask, why not select some other party printer instead of Duff Green? The answer is, he was without a competitor. The most ardent, and, to the parties, the most generous and honorable efforts, were made by some distinguished supporters of the president, to establish at Washington a respectable and dignified Jackson print. A large annual sum was proposed by a few persons, to be guaranteed, to a proper editor, *out of their private estate*—a circumstance which establishes as well their liberality of feelings, as their sense of the importance and necessity of the project. These efforts however were unsuccessful; several who were properly qualified for the object declined the proposal, and among others, the editor of the Richmond Enquirer. "We could obtain, sir," said they "no decent editor to commence the enterprise, or we should not have been left, at this hour, with so frail a dependance as Gen. Green. We must vote for him as printer, and try the experiment, therefore; but we tremble with apprehensions that he will destroy the party."

Some would naturally ascribe his election to a feeling of gratitude—to a favorable estimate of his services in the presidential canvass. This however was not the fact, for the leading friends of the president had very unfavorable impressions of the value of Gen. Green's efforts. "I am satisfied," said a western senator, "that Duff Green's paper has done our cause essential injury. When I arrived in Washington I found the sentiments of many to differ from me, and to ascribe some service to the Telegraph. But on inquiry I found every one of these gentlemen satisfied, in regard to their *own sections*, that the scurrilous, violent spirit of the paper, and the unfavorable estimate formed of the character of its editor, really did the cause an injury. But they insisted he had done service in the *west*. But the west was precisely the point where the Telegraph would be the least serviceable. Our people know Duff Green too well. Unpopular as the National Intelligencer is among the friends of Jackson, the western people regard it with a respect which they withhold from the Telegraph. In our public addresses we could not cite the Telegraph as authority, without its being almost universally hissed."

The government press at Washington is the natural centre of the party, and is, or ought to be, the medium of intercourse between all the sections of the union. To attain its essential objects, the charac-

ter it maintains must be decidedly national; and it must avoid, with scrupulous care and delicacy, local and sectional differences among the common members of the party. The public printer should shun the very suspicion of meddling with local appointments, as a subject upon which he cannot be well informed, and which the local sentiment will regulate, much more wisely, for its own, and for the general good. Above all, the *integrity* of the printer should never be brought into question. The slightest distrust that he is *corrupt*, and will, for *motives of private advantage, intrigue for appointments*, and use the confidence which his position necessarily commands from his party, to defeat that party's interest, will render his aid to the cause nugatory, and forfeit all the benefit of his position. Long established custom, too, has clearly marked out the course of a judicious printer. Messrs. Gales & Seaton were examples that any man might have been proud to imitate—for whatever might be their claims on the good will of the Jackson party, their dignity, discretion, and fairness, as public printers, are universally conceded.

To what a remarkable extent Duff Green has departed from this judicious course, is, in general, a matter of notoriety; but some instances are within our knowledge, which the public cannot be supposed to know, or perhaps, without difficulty, to be able to credit.

It was, I think, in August 1828, that this notorious *gentleman* first made his appearance in Boston. The division in the party had then taken place, the line of disunion been distinctly marked, the new paper established, and the altercation checked from a conviction that any effort to induce the Statesman leaders to abandon their profligate course, would be unavailing. Duff Green had access to both divisions of the party, and professed to be well informed on all the subjects of discord. Towards Col. Orne he manifested the kindest feelings, and the most marked respect. Of the Statesman newspaper he spoke slightly, affecting to regret the coarse, abusive and degraded tone of its discussions. Towards Mr. Henshaw, particularly, he seemed to feel much resentment, and spoke of him with great severity. The discord in the Jackson ranks he regretted; but applauded, in the highest terms, the forbearance of the Jackson republican party, and urged the sacrifice of every object to prevent, at least to the world, the appearance of discord. The union of the federal supporters of Gen. Jackson with the republicans, on republican ground, he spoke of as a party desideratum, and as the object to which the main efforts of his paper were directed. Not knowing the character of Duff Green, the Jackson republican party had many reasons for forming a favorable estimate of his sentiments, and of his intentions.

But he was not long without exciting distrust, on the part of a few to whom he most extensively disclosed his objects. They early perceived that the man was destitute of judgment and discretion; but it was not at first that they had so much reason to doubt his integrity. We were struck, at once, by his overweening vanity and self-importance, which rendered it difficult to converse with him with gravity, and without violating the rules of the decorum practised by gentlemen

with strangers. To listen to Duff Green, one would suppose he viewed himself as by far the most important authority in the republic, and was to play, after the election of Gen Jackson, a game much superior to that of the president and congress. He spoke of having put down the party in congress who wished to censure Col. Jarvis for his affair with Mr. John Adams, by threatening to appeal to the Jackson public, to decide between *his services and their own*. He had, he said, digested a system for the government of the press of this country, which would require many years to be matured, but which would present one of the grandest features in the science of government, and give him an eminence which the proudest career of the mere statesman could not hope to reach. Young men of the most respectable connexions were urged on him as apprentices, by members of congress from all parts of the country. These he received with a proper regard to their local distribution. They were taught thoroughly the trade of printing, and besides, he himself paid the strictest attention to their mental improvement, and superintended particularly their study of the law, which he connected with his system, and for which his law library gave him great facilities. After being properly initiated into all the mysteries of the press, these young men were to be recommended by him, and placed by his influence, as editors in the various quarters of the republic, when they would exercise a most important influence over the public sentiment, would perhaps take a prominent lead in public affairs, but, at all events, would act in the strictest subordination to, and harmony with him, the guide and centre of the political system. This was to procure him a power, and a fame, in comparison with which the highest authorities and dignitaries of the republic were frivolous and puerile.

Mr. Green's main object in coming to Boston, he said, was to procure a loan of money. He was embarrassed every moment of time, for the want of the necessary capital to conduct his press. Without uncommon financial skill, no man could keep his workmen together a week. He wished to procure a loan of fifteen-thousand dollars, as this amount, in addition to his other means, would constitute a capital adequate to his establishment; and he gave the Boston friends of Gen. Jackson the preference, in this mark of his confidence and esteem. His application was made to both portions of the Jackson party, but particularly to Dr. Ingalls, Gen. Lyman, Mr. Henshaw and Col. Orne. From Dr. Ingalls he obtained promptly the promise of five-thousand dollars, which was soon after advanced him on the security of his naked note. His application to the other gentlemen was not equally successful. Gen. Lyman politely but firmly declined. Col. Orne informed Mr. Green that there was in no part of the Union, where the Jackson party was comparatively so weak as in Boston, and none, certainly, where the contest involved a tax so heavy on the resources which the party could command. The establishment of a single newspaper had cost himself and his associates, each, at least, \$500, which was necessarily a sacrifice in the cause. There were besides many other occasions of heavy expense, and before the campaign could be ended,

the pecuniary sacrifice of each of these gentlemen, could not fall materially short of one thousand dollars. Yet, weak as the Jackson party in Boston was, compared with the parties in New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, still, if the support of the central Jackson press required the aid of the party, we, in Boston, would furnish our equal share. Let New-York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, do the same, and the capital which is deemed to be requisite will probably be had. This suggestion was not received by Mr. Green with a very good grace, and the subject was not again renewed. The only loan, therefore, he obtained at that time was that of \$5,000 from Dr. Ingalls. From the whole Statesman party he could not obtain a dollar, and he left them, apparently, with no very friendly feelings.

The extraordinary nature of this application excited surprise, and gave rise to much reflection, on the part of some of those to whom it was made. Why should Gen. Green come to Boston, when there were so many in Washington, friendly to the cause, and able to assist him? Why come such a distance here, when other cities were so much nearer? Why apply where the party was comparatively the weakest, and most heavily burdened already? And why, above all, insist, that the most remote, the weakest, and most heavily burdened, should furnish, not only its proportion, but the whole loan? The disinclination to apply to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New-York, was obvious. What was the motive? Having little knowledge of Mr. Green's character, we were not much open to suspicion, but the circumstances struck us forcibly. He applied first to the Statesman party, but meeting with no encouragement, he tries next the Jackson republican party. The amount was very large—the credit of the borrower here little known—the public papers spoke of his embarrassments, and the pressing nature of these embarrassments was the ground of his strong claim on the sympathies of the party. A loan of fifteen-thousand dollars to him, on any security he could offer, would not have been worth five-thousand, the next moment, in our market; and, we had strong reason to think, in no other market in the country. I doubt, sincerely, if Dr. Ingalls had offered to sell the note of five-thousand dollars, for one-thousand, whether a purchaser could have been obtained. The sacrifices Duff Green asked were large, heavy, and appalling; and on what ground could he have calculated we should be willing to make them? Was it possible he meant to take advantage of the division of the party, and *sell* his influence for the most it would bring? The motives of a man are hid in his breast, to all but the omniscient eye; and we must be cautious in imputing them to any one. But circumstances sometimes indicate the thoughts—the course of events sometimes marks the character of a policy or project, as distinctly as language can express it.

Suppose some friend of the Statesman had loaned Duff Green money, and Col. Orne had afterwards offered him a greater loan, would it have been possible for Duff Green to have charged Col. Orne with an intention to *bribe* him? I go now upon the ground that he was hostile to Col. Orne, as subsequent events have demonstrated he

was, as well as to the whole Jackson republican party. Nay, suppose the Statesman loan was before the presidential contest was decided, and Col. Orne's offer was afterwards,—that the one was made in public, and in accordance with a public request, addressed to many, while the other was offered on terms of profound secrecy,—would Duff Green suspect that the offer was intended as a bribe? Let us see how he would naturally reason on the subject. “I asked you, Colonel Orne, for a loan, to aid in the election of Gen. Jackson—you refused it then—why do you offer it now *he is elected*? I asked you for a loan, when my embarrassments might have injured, essentially, the cause—you refused it then—why offer it now, when even by my ruin the cause could not be affected? I asked you for a loan when it was hazardous to make it, while the event of the election was still doubtful, and my solvency, in all probability, depended upon success—you refused it then—why offer it now, when my credit is indisputable, my success certain, my reward magnificent? The friends of the Statesman made me a loan when I needed it, when the cause needed it, when it was hazardous—*openly*,—you offer one, when I am prosperous and successful, when the cause is won, when there is no hazard—*secretly*. He who made the loan, was a candidate for no office, and would accept none—you, who offer it, are a prominent and avowed candidate for an important appointment. If your motive, Col. Orne, be not to bribe me, pray avow what it is, for otherwise I must reject your offer, as aiming at the integrity of my character, with indignation and contempt.” If Col. Orne had made the offer under such circumstances, who could have answered the argument, and repelled the imputation, which Mr. Green might so naturally have made:—or if Mr. Green, under such circumstances, had accepted Col. Orne's offer, how would Mr. Green have met the imputation of others, that *he had consented to be bribed*.

But fortunately for Duff Green, and for Dr. Ingalls, the only loan which was made at that time was by a man whose *disinterestedness* was above all suspicion, and is above all cavil: By a man whose generous zeal in the Jackson cause is not surpassed among the millions who rallied under the Jackson banner: By a man who had no personal favor to ask, nor personal favor to accept. Fortunate indeed was it, that it was made by a man whose disinterestedness may challenge imitation, and defy malice,—whose generous and magnanimous liberality made even Duff Green ascribe to him the soul and feelings of a prince. But who were *they*, thou *honest* printer of the *Telegraph*! who offered you a loan of six thousand dollars, after the contest was decided, and the hazard was at an end? Were they candidates for appointments? How have you exerted your influence in their behalf? Have they, or many of them, obtained appointments, through your means, and of a character so disproportioned to their standing, as to excite the astonishment and regret of every honest friend of the president, through the United States? What are their names? Is David Henshaw, or Andrew Dunlap, or Nath'l. Greene, any or all of them, among the number? What was the condition, expressed or understood, on which

the loan was offered you? Was it that you should denounce the Jackson republican party, and support that of the Statesman? Was it that you should break with your generous benefactor, return him his loan, denounce him and his friends, and impute his noble sacrifice in your favor to a motive of corruption? Did you, or not, after this negotiation, proceed to denounce the Jackson republican party, for which before you had professed so much friendship and respect? Did you, or not, ascribe to Dr. Ingalls a motive to *bribe you*, and talk indignantly of returning his loan? Have you returned his loan to this hour, or do you still retain, what you called Dr. Ingalls' bribe, as well as the latter loan from the Statesman party, which you did *not* call any body's bribe? How came the idea of *bribery* to enter your head? Who charged you with it—nay, how came the ideas of bribery and loan ever to be *coupled* by you?*

I accuse you not, Duff Green—I put nothing to your conscience—I leave those things to God and your country. But I am a little curious in metaphysics, and wish to understand by what law of mental association it is, that the *ideas* of *loan* and *bribery* first became coupled in your understanding? I am, too, a humble admirer of close logical deduction, and it distresses me beyond measure to trace the progressive steps in the argumentative process, by which bribery is fastened on the first open, generous, hazardous, needed, useful loan, from a man who had no selfish desire to be gratified;—while the very suspicion of it is repelled, from the last, secret, safe unnecessary, useless loan, from men who were avowed candidates for appointments, and to whose objects you have lent your aid with devotion and effect. Explain this, if you can, on any principle of honesty or honor, and I will acknowledge, that your claim to my execration is something weaker than I had supposed.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. XI.

The Electors of the United States had scarcely given their suffrages for president, and the result of the violent contest become known, when the Statesman party prepared to enter into the various offices, in this place, dependant on the federal government. Never, since the time of Jack Cade, was seen such a motley host ready to bear, on their ragged shoulders, the honors and the burdens of public affairs. You would have thought, to have watched their motions, and listened to their sentiments, that the time was at length arrived when the beggars were to mount horses, and ride to — as the old adage

*There is something as admirable as peculiar in Duff Green's gratitude. He has some workings of kindness to Dr. Ingalls, and would really like to do him good, if the Dr. would be *obedient*. Duff has been exceedingly anxious to have the Dr. unite with Duff's tools of the Statesman, and has made him bounteous offers of public offices. But as the Dr. will have *an opinion of his own*, Duff gets quite outrageous, and shows his gratitude for the almost unprecedented liberality of the Dr. by threatening, unless *some other person* will stop exposing Duff, that he will expose the *Doctor's* private correspondence!!!

has it. Apothecaries quitted their drugs, and their pestles, and thought to physic no diseases but those of the state. Leaving the mortars of medicine, they prepared to direct the mortars of war, and to change the scene from the shop to a public department—from the ragamuffins of the Statesman, to the courts of foreign states and princes. The sellers of drams and grog said, that the time was come when they would no longer collect cents from dirty Irishmen, but would preside over the revenue of a nation; and instead of shop boys, would have public dignitaries to aid them. The butcher thought, that he who had so long administered to private hunger, was best able to supply public wants, and would quit his shambles for the stately department of the customs. The tailor contended, and with great force, that he who made clothes for the naval service, was the most competent to buy them, and would quit his needle and goose, sooner than the navy agency should remain in incompetent hands. The printer thought, that no profession was so intimately connected with the post office as his, and stamping letters, upon the whole, rather a more dignified, as it was certainly a more lucrative business, than pressing newspapers. The enthusiasm was indeed so general, that all orders of men seemed to lose sight of their private pursuits, and, in the ardor of patriotism, to devote their all to the service of the country. The quack, to dose the body politic with his drugs—the tinman, to tinker the flaws of the constitution, the upholsterer, to wrap dignified rank in a more becoming drapery, and the maker of beds, to supply feathers for tar, on those who should retire. All seized upon their prey, and the merry burden of the song went round,

“We’re all on hobbies, gee up, gee ho.”

To the sober and discreet citizen, this was rather a scene of amusement than humiliation. How little, it was thought, do these people know of the manly character, and elevated sentiments of Gen. Jackson, to suppose that corruption will find favor in his sight, and the dignified trusts of the public be conferred on the most degraded classes of the people. To us who felt scarcely less deeply for the character of the party, than the honor of the country, it was absolutely a subject of merriment, to think how the air built castles which the beggars had raised, would vanish at the first stern sober glance of the hero of his country. “It will not be three months,” said a Jackson man from the south, of high character and rank, who visited here during the contest—“after the election of Gen. Jackson, before these Statesman men, and their Duff Green’s, and others of their class, will be abusing the president as zealously as they are now abusing his opponents.”

The expectations of ourselves, however, and of the honorable men of the Jackson party who thought with us, have been wofully disappointed. The low men succeeded, and are still triumphant. But neither our friends, nor ourselves, can believe that we were mistaken in the views and intentions of the president. The unexpected result is ascribed to a combination of circumstances, partly fraudulent, and partly accidental, by which a true knowledge of the state of things has been

kept from the president ; and which have placed him in a position as little satisfactory to himself, as to us. The first moment of the meeting of congress was seized upon by the Statesman party, for the commencement of the measures by which the offices were to be secured. Mr. Nath'l. Greene first posted to Washington, under the convenient pretext of reporting the debates, to pour his malignant falsehoods into the ears of the members from all quarters of the country. Duff Green had been retained to support him, and this American Marat made his assistance effectual with all he could influence or deceive. Mr. Greene had been there but a short time, when he was followed by member after member of the Statesman party, to reiterate the same falsehoods, and advance the same objects. In the course of the political season, not less than twenty of these profligate agents assembled, and remained, in active cooperation, until their desires were accomplished. There was not, probably, a man of the party who visited the seat of government, who was not himself a candidate for office ; and who, if not a direct party to the intrigue, was not, at least, dependant on its success for his own. No wonder all these men were clamorous for Mr. Henshaw, for they were well aware it were to be clamorous for themselves. The disregard of decency, and of respect for the president, which these proceedings evince,—the disgraceful, unblushing character of the whole transaction,—it was thought by honorable men, would fill the president and his cabinet with disgust. But the confusion of the moment, and the entire want of knowledge of the actual local parties, by the members of the cabinet, who happened, in this respect most unfortunately, to be inexperienced men, presented the only possible means of the intrigue being successful.

The Jackson republican party could not, let the consequences be what they might, degrade themselves so far, or insult the president so much. They stood aloof, relying upon their known public course, upon the integrity of their characters, and upon that reputation which the government could not have failed to be aware of, upon the slightest inquiry of respectable men. The Statesman agents gave themselves out as a committee of the Jackson party in Boston, and the absence of a similar committee from our party, gave some color to the pretext. As the Jackson republicans presented but one candidate, Col. Orne for the collectorship, the single object of the Statesman host was to put him down, in order to make the whole game their own. Some of the gross falsehoods uttered against him, have already been fully exposed, and there were probably many others, similar, which have not yet come to light. Their calumnies were listened to by men, whose own sense of dignity, alone, should have repelled them. The Jackson republicans despised these slanders too much to reply to them ; and insulted not the presence of the chief magistrate of the country, by exhibitions of contention ; nor his ear, by details of slander. Honorable men shrunk from the scene which the intriguers then monopolized, and, unfortunately for the government, and the country, but too successfully for their plans. We retained our delicacy, our

respect for the government, and our attachment to the purity of the public institutions—and we fell.

There are a few of the known grounds on which the claims of the Statesman party were urged, which it may be important for me, cursorily, to consider.

It was said, in the first place, that they were the oldest supporters of the president—but this groundless, ridiculous pretension has already been effectually exposed. Dr. Ingalls, Gen. Lyman and Col. Orne, who established the Jackson Republican, were opposed to Mr. Adams from the commencement of the contest for a successor to Mr. Munroe, and were, of course, always for the candidates of that opposition; and when the united party presented but one, were for Gen. Jackson. This period commenced with the Panama discussions.

The next ground was the superior pecuniary sacrifices they made in the cause. But the incontestible truth is that, in the Jackson contest, by far the largest amount of pecuniary sacrifices was made by the proprietors of the Jackson Republican. The friends of the Statesman can show but little, if any, loss in this behalf, independent of the enormous equivalents they are drawing from the public treasury. The claims in this respect, made by Mr. Nathaniel Greene, are ridiculous in the extreme, and shall hereafter be the subject of special consideration. This ground, however, if it were just, presents but a miserable claim for public trusts—the conferring of which should regard only the welfare of the country, the honor of the government, and the public as well as party character and qualifications of the candidates.

But the main point in their pretensions was their comparative superiority of numbers. We, they said, were a handful, while they were a numerous party—there were not twenty of us, while they were eight or nine hundred strong. If this pretension were just, which I shall presently show was entirely destitute of foundation, it would afford no ground for the preference; for the friends of General Jackson who had been wronged, ought not to be denounced by him on account of the smallness of their numbers: nor the wrong doers to be rewarded for the largeness of theirs. The question would still have remained, which party was able to afford the most efficient aid to the government? and the preference would have been at once given to the Jackson republican party, for the superior influence of their character, and the less objectionable course of their conduct. The ascendancy of the Jackson republican party involved the sacrifice of no other portion of General Jackson's friends. They unfurled a banner under which all the supporters of the president could rally; while that of the Statesman involved a sacrifice of a part. With the Jackson republicans, all the respectable part of our population, who did not wish to engage in an opposition to the government, would rally—while the Statesman party could never, by any possibility, attract the public confidence. If Col. Orne, or any other respectable member of that party, had been appointed collector, there would have been but one party here, and that of the Statesman would have instantaneously gone down. Sometwenty or thirty disappointed men would have gone into the opposition,

while all the rest of the party would have acted in harmony together. But, in fact, the numbers of the Statesman party were not greater than those of the Jackson Republican.

The vote for electors was a Jackson vote, regardless of the division. It comprised the whole body of Gen. Jackson's friends, federal and democratic, Statesman and Jackson republican. The aggregate vote afforded no ground of measuring the comparative strength of the different parties who combined to cast it. The vote for Dr. Ingalls, one of the proprietors of the Jackson Republican, who was put up for congress long after the existence of the paper, although affected by tariff considerations, was, within one hundred, as strong as the electoral vote. The denunciation of our party by Duff Green, on whose influence and efforts, no doubt, very much was expected by this community, gave much strength to the Statesman party. And yet, afterwards, on the only occasion when the Statesman party relied on the support of their strength, independent of ours, to wit, on the nomination of Andrew Dunlap for mayor, their number, if I remember correctly, and I am sure I can be mistaken but in few votes, was short of three hundred. Even here, however, they had some support, auxiliary to their own; for Mr. Dunlap was run, not merely as a Jackson, but as the only democratic candidate, and the force of party prejudices gave him some strength. That which approached the nearest to a test of numbers, was the dinner celebration on the fourth of March; we, in Faneuil Hall, being about five hundred, while they, in the Washington Gardens, fell short of 700. Their numbers, however, were augmented by uncommon exertions out of Boston, and it has been supposed by some that the collection embraced nearly as many from without as from within the city. The Statesman party after this never made an effort by which their strength could be fairly tested. In the spring election of state senators, the Statesman-Jackson, and the democratic Adams parties, united for a mixed ticket; and their aggregate force was only about nine hundred. This ticket presented the united candidates of the Statesman and Patriot newspapers, and the democratic friends of the latter, compared to those of the former, were certainly as two to one. In the subsequent election of representatives the same course was pursued; an union Jackson and Adams democratic list was supported, and it again failed. The requisite number, however, was not at first elected by the national republicans, and the Statesman run a Jackson list to fill the vacancies. I do not recollect precisely their whole number of votes, but it was, I think, considerably short of those Mr. Dunlap had previously obtained,—probably about two hundred.

It was true the Jackson republican list of senators, put up exclusively on Jackson ground, obtained only about three hundred votes. But this effort was made after success was despaired of, after the party had been apparently given up by the government to be denounced, and those appointments had been made, and others boasted of, which must be fatal to the growth of any Jackson party in this commonwealth. If the circumstances had been reversed, the Statesman party would not have been one hundred strong, while that of the Jackson republicans

would have approached *two thousand*. This is a matter of opinion only, it is true ; but it is that of a man who has some reputation to lose, and who would do more than hazard it by a public assertion destitute of reasonable grounds of probability.

The grounds, then, on which the public trusts were claimed, by the self-constituted agents of the Statesman party, were destitute of truth, as well as of merit. Their success had occasioned an irreparable injury to the government, and inflicted a signal injustice on the most honorable portion of the friends of the president in this quarter. The *low* men are in power, in spite of their injustice and their corruption. They have gained it without merit, or qualifications, or character. They earned their success, neither by an early declaration for the cause, nor by a constant zeal in support of it. They had incurred few sacrifices to gain it success, and possessed no strength to recompense, by a future support, the deadly odium of their elevation. Vice is sometimes allowed to appear in triumph and splendor, but there is an intelligent public opinion, which, like the eternal decrees of an all-seeing God, proclaims that its triumph shall be short, and that blessings and success shall never follow in the footsteps it treads.

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. XII.

I have spoken of Mr. Nathaniel Greene's appointment to the Boston post office, as one of the most extraordinary measures which ever took place under this or any other government. I have incidentally spoken of his character and standing, and will now consider the claims on which his pretensions have been supported, and the appointment has been attempted to be justified. They are, I believe, the following:

He was, it is said, the publisher and editor of the Boston Statesman.

He sacrificed a great many thousand dollars in support of the Jackson cause.

He had been *persecuted* by the city authorities on account of his political conduct.

That Mr. Nath'l. Greene was the *publisher* of the Boston Statesman will not be denied—but before I can admit that he was its *editor*, I must beg to learn in what sense the term is understood. If it be meant that he was generally, or even frequently, the writer of the articles which appeared under the editorial head, then most certainly he was not the editor. The assertion of the Bulletin, that the Statesman had *nineteen* editors, is certainly within the truth. I have no doubt that there are at this moment, in Boston, more than nineteen men whose writings have appeared in that paper as editorial. Any one who knows Mr. Greene, must know his utter incompetency to write, with ability, editorial articles in a newspaper. His information on political subjects is as limited as his political principles are vague and indefinite. He never was a partizan even by profession ; and if he knows the sub-

stantial difference between a federalist and a democrat, an aristocrat and a jacobin, which I seriously doubt, it is certain that he cares nothing about it. Mr. Greene seldom wrote, so far as I have any knowledge of the paper, unless when personally attacked, or some little scrap of an article intended to be witty, in imitation of Mr. Noah—and himself, as it was the only subject about which he cared in politics, so it was the only one which could call forth his eloquence.

But if it had been true that he was the editor, was he not *paid* for the services he rendered? What supported his family, certainly not in a manner remarkable for its economy, but the recompense he obtained in his vocation? Is a man, as Duff Green most pointedly asked, entitled to double recompense for the same services? Are the labors of editors really gratuitous in a cause? Do they receive nothing more than the expense they are at in employing the services of others? The idea is something new that a party must support a printer for his adherence to their cause, and the printer have all the advantages of the party's success. It was not thus in times of yore; by what improved state of the public intelligence does it happen now? And if it be generally understood as an established precedent, how long will parties continue to labor for the elevation of printers?

But suppose him both the publisher and editor, does that fact alone entitle him to his station, or is something like superior merit, talents, or devotion to the cause—the rendering of important services—also necessary? Was the Boston Statesman servicable to the Jackson cause? So far from it, there is no speculative opinion, of the truth of which I am more deeply convinced than this: that if there had been no such paper in existence, the Jackson cause, in this state, would have been supported by twice the numbers, and those, too, ten times more respectable in character. This is not an opinion which has sprung up under the influence of party dissensions; but it has been for years the sentiment of the writer, and a sentiment too in which he has been joined by a very large number of the most respectable friends of the present administration. It was a subject of common observation and complaint, for years, and numerous facts could be adduced to render that opinion almost incontrovertible. Such coarse and abusive writings as those of Mr. Henshaw, and Mr. Dunlap, never did, and never can benefit a party, with an intelligent community. The cause they support emits a bad odor which keeps respectable men from embracing it; and not unfrequently disgusts such as manifest a preference in its favor. Let the writings of these men, in that paper, be referred to, and then say how it was possible that any good cause could be advanced by them. What light do they throw on the true grounds of the party contest? Who can learn by these writings any thing of the character of party principles, of public measures, of the qualifications of men, or of the state or national institutions? A few heads, which any school boy could commit to memory in half an hour, contained all the subjects of their learned discussion; and on these the changes were rung in infinite variety. A few cabalistic phrases, reiterated until the ear was fatigued with the monotony, and the spirits

were exhausted by the endless recurrence of the same unvarying subject, contained the sum of their intelligence and their arguments. The Hartford convention, aristocracy, the royal family of the *Johns*, gag laws, federalism, democracy, and John Adams' *nose*, were the concentrated essence of all the thought, and all the eloquence, which these accomplished *statesmen* poured, in such protracted cadence, into the wearied ears of the community. Instead of benefiting a cause, I know of no better means of rendering it odious and contemptible, in this section of the country, than by such support as Messrs. Henshaw and Dunlap rendered, to Gen. Jackson, for a few years past, in the polluted columns of the Boston Statesman. If the contest obtained any support among us, it was not by, but in defiance of the aid of these writers.

But Mr. Greene sacrificed in the support of the cause many thousand dollars. It has been stated that he carried to Washington figures and documents to prove, that the sacrifices involved by his devoted zeal, did not fall much short of thirty thousand dollars. Every Jacksonian who has any knowledge of the affairs of the Statesman, could at once prove the *entire* falsehood of this assertion. The Statesman never sacrificed, and never lost a *dollar*, in the service. It was published eight or nine years, but never with a profit. It yielded a very liberal support to Mr. Greene, and his family and associates—it gave them a living, but it could not gain them a fortune. A paper of such a character never could succeed in this intelligent community. But though it gained nothing, it probably lost little. To conduct such a paper for many years required a capital of many thousand dollars, and as this was not possessed by the publishers, loans were made them by Messrs. Henshaw and Simpson, and by Col. Orne. The largest advance was made progressively, by the former gentleman, reluctantly but of necessity, as means of preventing the failure of the press, and the loss of a part of the sum in advance. But the stock, apparatus, &c. of an establishment of this magnitude, were the means of his indemnity; and it is not believed that they were very deficient for the object. It was in his power, at any day, to compel the proprietors to make an absolute conveyance of the establishment. The next largest loan was made by Col. Orne, and for a long time the very largest. But he calculated, in the event of difficulty, that his advances would be sunk. Does the temper these people have recently evinced towards him leave any room to doubt the justice of his apprehensions?

But whether the paper advocated one cause or another, was a question of *interest*, on which the chances were calculated, and the risk deliberately taken. It was deemed by the publishers the most politic course to advocate the cause of Mr. Crawford, as his success would place the interests of the paper on very commanding ground. The chance of Mr. Crawford's success they deemed the best. In this they were mistaken, and their calculations defeated. But it by no means follows because a speculation is unsuccessful, that interest is not the object of it. The disappointment of the publishers made them sick of political speculations, and very resolute in refusing to engage in oth-

ers. Towards the close of the contest, the same chances invited to a support of Gen. Jackson, and in this they were successful. There was every ground to believe that his success would place the party in ascendancy in this commonwealth, and if such a paper could ever become profitable, that circumstance would have rendered it so. But does this calculation of chances show a disposition to make sacrifices in a cause? Is not self-interest, after all, the object by which the course is regulated? Would their chance have been better in the support of Mr. Adams? Certainly not half so good. In that game they had too many competitors, and those too in much better estimation; and Mr. Adams' success could have promised them no possible advantage.

Yet not only did the support of General Jackson afford the best chance of profit, but was the immediate cause of extensive patronage. If a subscriber withdrew for such a cause, ten new ones were immediately obtained. The ordinary course of aiming to advance a cause, is to increase the circulation of the paper by which it is advocated. To obtain such circulation has been frequently the object of the party. And funds have been at various times subscribed, and gratuitously bestowed on the publishers, to enable them to travel in order to advance the cause by the increase of their subscription. The support of General Jackson was, therefore, to them the occasion of an immediate aid, as well as ultimate flattering prospects. Surely if sacrifices are the ground of political claims, the printers of a party are frequently the *last* men entitled to the advantage.

Perhaps, however, it will be said that, by the support of this cause, the publishers of the Statesman lost the patronage of men in power. If so, there could not be expressed a greater mistake. There was no press in Boston that received half the patronage of the Adams party, which was given to the Statesman printers.—*They were, in the first place, printers to the state.* This, it may be said, they obtained by the lowest bid at auction. It may be so, but the public have the evidence on the trial of Mr. Child for a libel, and can judge for themselves, whether or not the Adams committee, of an Adams legislature, were, or were not willing to give True and Greene a bonus over all other candidates, of *five hundred dollars a year.* At least all will be satisfied that if there was no favor, there was no *persecution* in that affair.

They were also printers, a part of the time, for the city authorities,—another body of Adams partisans. This they ultimately lost, for a cause which I shall soon consider, but for which they claim great merit. They had, a portion of the term, the printing of the general post office in Washington—a *most lucrative concern.* Here they had the very patronage of the Adams government itself, and for a period of time during the Jackson contest, as long as any paper, or printers, in New-England. This was *not* obtained by the *lowest bid at auction.* The *post master, Dr. Hill, advertised his letters, half the time, in the Statesman.* The patronage was equally divided between the Statesman and Patriot. This did not look much like Adams proscription. And, though last, not least, the *Statesman, during the whole last seven years of the*

presidential contest, had a large portion of the printing of the Boston custom-house. Another pretty valuable job, from the Adams government, and one which does not look much like proscription ! What renders this last patronage the more remarkable, is, that it was conferred by a collector whom the Statesman was constantly exerting itself to turn out, and who has since been obliged to yield his place to the disinterested Mr. Henshaw. Here, I apprehend, was a kind of proscription, which Adams papers would have liked to suffer from the Adams party. Let him, who can, show, in the whole of New England, an equal amount of Adams patronage conferred on any other press. Let any Adams press show an equality, in this respect, with the Statesman, and I will hold my tongue about proscription.

But, in one case, indeed, Mr. Greene certainly was proscribed. It has been proclaimed all over the country, and therefore must be true. The president has been told of it repeatedly. It has been rung over and over again, in the ears of every member of the cabinet, and of every member of Congress. It has really made Mr. Greene a martyr in the Jackson cause, and rejoiced distant partisans much that he has been so amply indemnified. This is a high pretension—let us examine it a little.

The city government invited offers for their printing, with an understanding that they should have it who would do it on the lowest terms. Mr. Greene offered lower than any one else, and it was *refused him*. This is conclusive proof that he was a martyr for Jackson ; oh, certainly—it was not possible there could be any *other objection* to Mr. *Nath'l. Greene*.

Whether this course, in its spirit, is to be blind to the *persons* who make the offers, and to disregard altogether their skill, character, fidelity and probable compliance with their contract, or otherwise, I will not stop now to consider. Nor will I ask, either, whether public officers cannot, with propriety, resort to this mode of inviting competition, without being compelled to employ men whom, in their judgment, they deem to be disreputable. In point of fact no body of men were ever more grossly, scurrilously, indecently, and outrageously abused, than the city authorities were, by this same Statesman, which did their printing. I know not what others may think ; but for myself, and I speak it without hesitation, the party which can degrade itself so far, in order to save a few dollars, as to employ revilers which would disgrace Billingsgate, are *only less* contemptible than the worse than Billingsgate revilers, who seek the patronage of those whom they abuse.

It may be, however, that to abuse the city authorities was to advance the cause of Gen. Jackson ; and to lose the printing of those authorities for such abuse, was suffering martyrdom in Gen. Jackson's cause. The writer does not dispute this reasonable position, but only, modestly, suggests his difficulty of following out the premises to the conclusion.

But was the abuse of themselves, even, the cause why the city authorities would not suffer Mr. Greene to be their printer ? Let us look

at the evidence of one of the city officers, under oath, in a court of justice, on the trial of an indictment. I refer to that of Mr. Hayden, the auditor of the city. See trial of David Lee Child, for a libel on John Keyes, page 40.

“William Hayden Esq. City Auditor. Some bills of Messrs. True & Greene against the Commonwealth for printing were put into my hands by Mr. Child, and I made a general examination of them; but could not make it thorough because I had not the work before me which they had executed. I compared their charges with their contracts. I found that in charging, there was a general disregard of the rates in their proposals. There was a charge of \$150 for printing 1500 election sermons, which should have been \$75. There was a deduction by the committee of \$25; but the charge was still \$50 too high.—There was a charge for blank leaves put into Rules and Orders in each year. In 1826, the proposal in the contract was Rules and Orders at so much per copy “complete,” and yet the extra charge was continued. In general the bills of True and Greene were made out without much reference to their contracts.

Cross examined by the Solicitor General. I never called on True and Greene, nor on the committee for explanation of these bills. Mr. Child did not apply to me first. I asked him whether he had ever compared True and Green’s bills with their proposals, observing, that if they served the Commonwealth as they had done the city, they paid very little regard to their contracts. True and Greene have had the city printing, but not in the two last years.”

Here then, I suppose, is *no objection* to Mr. Greene! He makes the lowest proposals, obtains the printing, but little regards his proposals in his charges. The offer must be taken, because it is the lowest, although the work when done, may be the highest. A man must be employed if he bids well, although he pays very little regard to his contract. Surely the loss of the city printing was martyrdom for Gen. Jackson, and deserves, eminently deserves, the Boston post office? But a single question about Mr. Greene, and I have done for the present. Did Mr. Greene declare to a gentleman of high standing and unimpeachable veracity, that the loss of the city printing was the object he tried to effect? I can name such a gentleman. But if suffering for a cause be martyrdom, Mr. Greene, why then to inflict the injury on yourself must be more than martyrdom. It was self-devotion for Gen. Jackson. Hurra for the martyr!

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS NO. XIII.

The appointments of Mr. Andrew Dunlap and Mr. David Henshaw, I have said, excited nearly as much astonishment and regret, as that of Mr. Nathl. Greene. I have never heard a statement of the grounds on which Mr. Dunlap was appointed. As a professional man, his estimation by the bar of Suffolk he is probably well aware of, and of which the curious may be informed by inquiry of any of its respectable

members. The extent of his *sacrifices* in the Jackson cause, I have never heard stated—nor, indeed, a rumor that he had made any, unless the subscription of a sixth part of the loan of six thousand dollars to Duff Green, long after the contest was ended, and near the time when the offices were expected to be conferred, be a sacrifice. This was no doubt hazarded for the good of the cause, and without any possible motive of self interest; and if any profit has grown out of it, it must have been entirely accidental, and unexpected by Mr. Dunlap.

This gentleman also writes and makes speeches. Mr. John Adams' nose, was at once the main subject of his wit and his services; and this, with an occasionally novel and brilliant allusion to monarchy and gag laws, and a few sneers on "good society," were the sum of his splendid political discussions. The gentleman is so remarkably modest in regard to his own praise, that he seldom is pleased with a notice of his professional efforts, and is quite overpowered if one of his set speeches should appear in the public prints. I suppose, however, that his main pretension was his consistent and disinterested support of Gen. Jackson.—His fidelity is indeed justly a subject of wonder, for in the last five years he has not avowed a preference for more than four candidates—a very moderate number, indeed, considering the host which the people of the United States have had offered for their suffrages, for the most elevated trust in their gift. The support he rendered to his first candidate, whom he facetiously calls John the 2d, was magnanimous in the extreme, considering his antipathy to royalty, and the *house of Brumtree*; and his adherence to Mr. Adams, until Mr. Crawford's prospects appeared much the better, a degree of self devotion not common among politicians. Although Mr. Clay was his second avowed favorite, his consenting to waive his cause for the stronger one of Crawford, was as creditable to his sagacity, as the intention of bringing it forward again when Mr. Clay's chance might be the best in the field, was to his generous disinterestedness. In what way he got on the Jackson ground, it is impossible for the writer to imagine, unless he fell from one of Mr. Adams' "light houses in the skies." His exceeding dislike to a change of candidates was perhaps the only reason why Mr. Calhoun did not come in for a share of his preference; but to make atonement for an omission at which, certainly, Mr. Calhoun might have some reason to complain, it is supposed that he will prefer him hereafter, if the government should happen to devolve on the vice president, or the united and preponderating strength of the Jackson party should support him as its candidate.

Mr. Henshaw's claims are indeed of a most opposite character. His generous and disinterested sacrifices are truly almost incomprehensible. No man before ever hazarded so much money, with such an avowed, insurmountable dislike of office. The utter incapability of his nature to consent to receive any recompense for what was dictated by mere patriotism, and generous zeal, is notorious to the country—or at least ought to be so; for it was in every body's mouth as well as his own. His consenting to receive the collectorship here, was in itself one of the most reluctant sacrifices which a man could be called on to

make for his country ; for the profits of his drug shop might be as much, or more ; the occupation, certainly, was not less dignified, and the receipt of both *absolutely impossible*. His only objection to the post office being given to Mr. Nathaniel Greene, was, that Mr. Greene was largely his debtor, and though the payment of the debt did not depend on the appointment, yet the *time* of payment would. To have it thought possible, that the refunding of loans, made for so many years in the pursuit of his political promotion, until, by degrees, the amount became large, could have been an object with so generous a patriot, distressed him beyond measure, and made Mr. Greene's appointment almost as unwelcome as his own. And what is still more remarkable, out of the richest class of offices dependent upon the collector, that of weighers and gaugers, he has made *two* removals, and has given only *one* to a brother—and him he did not send into the country for, *more than forty miles* ! His enemies indeed might say that to take his brothers out of his old lucrative business, would have made them incur a sacrifice almost equal to his own. This, however, is mere malice—the true reason was, undoubtedly, his generous devotion to the interests of the party which brought him forward. Of Mr. Henshaw's other claims I can say little. It has been publicly said, and not contradicted, that up to a late period in the Jackson campaign, he entertained for the president the most unfavorable opinions, and denounced his conduct in unmeasured terms. When he changed his opinion, or whether he ever did change it, I do not know ; but apprehend, if he were requested to show an article written during the campaign favorable to the president's character, he might find it somewhat difficult. Of any political writings, except a Quixotic attack on one of the greatest writers of the age, Dr. Channing, which resembles, in more than one point, the scene of the wind-mill, I have no knowledge, unless indeed it be of some floating paragraphs, on the Hartford Convention, the gag law, house of Braintree, &c.

But the most remarkable circumstance in the history of Mr. Henshaw, is his extreme repugnance to receive the collectorship of Boston. His pledge while a candidate for Elector, that he would not take the custom-house, if it were offered him, might well be more natural than sincere, but his unwillingness to receive the appointment when it was about being conferred, could not have been dissembled, and is an unanswerable proof of his disinterestedness. His misrepresentations of, and opposition to, all other candidates, do not render his sincerity suspicious, because he might honestly doubt whether any other but himself could be found qualified for the place.—Upon balancing all the testimony on the subject, we must come to the conclusion that his acceptance of the office was unequivocal evidence of his disinterestedness and patriotism ; and that his systematic attacks upon Col. Orne, for so many years, to get him out of the way, was simply from his zeal that the duties of the office should be faithfully performed. There is only one circumstance, and this of no great moment, which it is difficult to reconcile, and this may not probably be true. I give it as I heard it, not vouching for the truth, but ready to name informants, if it be de-

mied. It comes a good deal in the shape of rumor, but rumor that keeps its ground in spite of time and notoriety.

While we, simple souls, of the Jackson republican party, were quietly at home, abstaining from persecuting the president as soon as he commenced his duties, and waiting in full confidence that the changes would be cautiously made, and the claims deliberately examined, Mr. Henshaw was at Washington, it is said, pressing for the appointment of somebody. Mr. Francis Baylies was also, it is said, at Washington, not applying for the office, but *willing to take it*. It would seem that Mr. Henshaw became much alarmed by an impression that the president was on the point of nominating Mr. Baylies to the senate. How much he and the other members of the Statesman committee, wrote, and what terrible things they said, at this alarming conjuncture, we know only by a rumor still more vague. But if this is to be credited, they swore more terribly than our "army in Flanders."—It happened that Mr. Josiah Dunham, rope maker, of Boston, was also there, and, at this most perilous moment, was waited on by Mr. Henshaw, almost out of breath, *as the story goes*, claiming his instantaneous aid, if he ever meant to render it, in procuring the collectorship. The president would act upon the subject the very next morning, and Baylies would have it. Mr. Dunham was urged to procure a certain New England senator to recommend Mr. Henshaw, but Mr. Dunham chooses, before moving for Mr. Henshaw, to stipulate for one or two conditions. Would Mr. Henshaw, if he was appointed collector, give certain subordinate stations to three of Mr. Dunham's friends—to wit, Dr. Stevens, John D. Dyer, and Abraham H. Quincy? To this, it is said, Mr. Henshaw assented. Now it so happened that Mr. Quincy was related to a member of the family of the senator in question, and Mr. Dunham informs that member that if Mr. Henshaw should happen to get the place, Mr. Quincy would be provided for. On this suggestion, it is said, the member procures the required letter from the senator. Mr. Baylies does not obtain the appointment, and Mr. Henshaw, ultimately, does. Whether this be true or not, I believe there is no doubt of the fact, that Dr. Stevens, and Mr. John D. Dyer, have obtained places under Mr. Henshaw—and whether Mr. Quincy would, or would not, if the president had not put a stop to further removals, is the question. I cannot swear, exactly, on that subject, but in a loose way I may say that I know that this member of the good senator's family has, not very long since, informed Mr. Quincy, that the member was much surprised that his appointment had not been obtained, as it was so arranged at Washington, if Mr. Henshaw were successful. "Upon this hint," Mr. Quincy spake, and called, by letter, Mr. Henshaw's attention to the promise. This not being effectual, he next waited on him and demanded the fulfilment of it. Whether it was denied, evaded, or admitted, I have not yet satisfactorily learnt. Now this certainly shows no disposition to *bargain* for an office, on the part of anybody, nor even any wish to obtain one, on the part of Mr. Henshaw; for it might be that he would receive it still, *very reluctantly*; but it does look at least a little like

solicitation for an office, though no doubt it was to secure the proper discharge of its duties, and altogether for the benefit of his party.

There is one other anecdote, which has been related to me, and which I believe, but of course, not on my own knowledge. I have however taken all the pains to ascertain the correctness of this, as of all matters that I assert on the authority of others; and I am satisfied of the respectability of the parties who have related it to me, and of their opportunities to possess correct information. When it is properly denied, and the evidence is called for, I shall give up my authors. It illustrates, not exactly Mr. Henshaw's unwillingness to accept of office, but that strict integrity of intention, and impartiality of feeling, of which he boasts in his late letter to the president of the United States. The passage is, however, worthy of being given in his own words.

"In discharging the duties of the office confided to my care, my object has been to obtain trusty and efficient officers. The removals have not been confined to political opponents, and so far from being operated upon by *feelings of political intolerance*, there are now in office double the number of political opponents that there were of political friends when I received my commission. *I have endeavoured to divest myself of ALL PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS, OF EVERY FEELING OF PREJUDICE OR PARTIALITY, and to look solely to promoting the public interest, and the credit and honor of your administration.*"

I have already spoken of the most incomprehensible removal, in the most insulting manner, of William Little Esq. from the office of appraiser. I have ascribed it solely to the intrigues of Mr. David Henshaw, and his patriotic co-adjutors of the Statesman party. Mr. Little's appointment was conferred by the president and senate of the United States. No one ever yet heard a complaint, that he did not discharge the duties of his place in a most faithful and acceptable manner, to the people and to the government. Mr. Little was a man of education, intelligence, and of the highest respectability—of manners so courteous and gentlemanly, that, from the infrequency of their being possessed in these late money making times, they are referred to a distinct class; and those who possess them are not unfrequently characterised as "gentlemen of the old school." He was the fellow laborer and sufferer with Washington at Valley Forge, was of the party which elevated and sustained Thomas Jefferson, was friendly to the election of Gen. Jackson, and was, as it has been several times before asserted, the head of the most decided Jackson family in New England. But, most unfortunately for him, he belonged to the Jackson republican party, and was related by marriage to Col. Orne. To compare such a man as David Henshaw with William Little, were almost as great an outrage to the latter, as to compare a clerk in one of the departments to the president, would be to General Jackson. That the removal of William Little was not an intentional act of the president, we never for one moment doubted—he is incapable of such an act. Mr. Little however was removed, and under marks of greater indignity than have ever, perhaps, occurred before under the government of this country. The universal astonishment this measure excited cannot be

described. He was removed to make way for a Mr. Lincoln. Of this latter gentleman I had never before heard. That the Jackson party of this place contained a man of the name of Lincoln, had never reached my ears. My political associates were as uninformed on the subject as myself. It was in vain to inquire, for no one seemed to know him better than ourselves. Some one hinted that he had once *received a ticket* for a Jackson celebration, and attended. Another, that his name was *Lincoln*, and Mr. John K. Simpson was connected with a Lincoln family, by marriage. But the anecdote I have referred to throws some light on the subject, and I will proceed to give it, as it comes to my ears.

Not long after the appointment of Mr. Lincoln as appraiser, the property of the firm of Lincoln & McAfee, of which the appraiser was a partner, was sold at public auction, the firm being insolvent. Some one of the bystanders remarked, "Mr. Lincoln has been very fortunate, in the moment of his troubles, in being appointed to a very respectable office." "How, under heaven," said another, "came he to be appointed; he was no more a Jackson man than I am?" "It was curious enough," was the reply. "Not many months ago, Mr. Lincoln was at my house at a whist party, and the conversation turned upon the contemplated visit of Gen. Jackson to the north—the gentlemen present were much opposed to Gen. Jackson, and some pretty sharp expressions were uttered on the occasion. "If he should come," said *the to be appraiser*, "I will be one of a party to give him a coat of tar and feathers."

Some of my friends have taken pains to inform themselves of the authenticity of this anecdote, and are so satisfied of it that I feel authorised to state it. They learned further that Mr. Lincoln never so far insulted, or thought of insulting the man whom he had been willing to tar and feather, as to apply to him for an office. That, on the contrary, his attention was first called to the subject by being waited on by Mr. David Henshaw, who offered him his support to procure for him the place, *much to his surprise*; and on giving a wondering consent, twelve days afterwards he received his commission.

What an extent of devotion is here shown, on the part of Mr. Henshaw, to the Jackson party—how anxious to give the administration in power the support of its friends—"that it should rely for support on its friends, and not on its opponents!" How honest his indignation against that class of people, who, while the president was "raising an imperishable monument of his fame, on the banks of the mighty Mississippi," "were singing Te Deums in honor of the victories of our enemies, and resolving that it was unbecoming a religious and moral people to rejoice in our own!"—Who, now, will doubt, thou dignified, generous, *disinterested* collector of Boston, thy honest attachment to the president, or zeal for his cause and his party? How admirably you divested yourself of *personal considerations—of every feeling of prejudice or partiality!* Had you any regard but for the "public interest, and the CREDIT and HONOR of (Gen. Jackson's) administration?" Who can doubt that hostility to Col. Orne was never one moment in your mind,

in procuring this indignity to William Little? What! a man, who could reward the bitterest enemy of the president, would he not forgive his own? With such a zeal as Mr. Henshaw's for the "honor and credit" of Gen Jackson's administration, it were easier to forgive a thousand personal enemies, than one of the government—and such an enemy of the government, too—it was an effort of sublime magnanimity,—of unparalleled christian meekness and charity! Gracious God—what is that influence in the cabinet which has induced the president to sanction this measure?

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. XIV.

Among the means resorted to by the Statesman party to effect their appointment to offices, were popular recommendations from this quarter, and the aid of the Jackson members of Congress from New-England.

There are, perhaps, no sources of influence, against which the executive authority of the nation should be more on its guard, or which it should view with more jealousy, than popular recommendations to distinguished local appointments. The national constitution, for the wisest of purposes, has made executive officers dependent alone on the president and senate. They are selected to aid the president in the administration of the complicated powers of the government, and they form no unimportant part of the executive authority itself. To enlighten the appointing power to the intelligent discharge of this important duty, is the proper office of all recommendations; and none should be regarded,—none can with propriety be offered or received,—but such as convey a knowledge of the character of claimants, of the wishes of the people who are most immediately interested in the duties to be performed, and of the interests of the local parties from among whom the selection, by the established practices under our political institutions, and party contests, is to be made. Any influence about local appointments exerted by members of congress from states distant from those where the offices are to be filled, is so obviously improper, that the executive ought to view it as an impertinent interference with its peculiar duties. To the executive must be communicated the information which is to direct it in the discharge of its duties—it is the centre to which all information on the subject tends—and the branch of the government not only best adapted to obtain the requisite information, but the only one competent to weight it—as some portion of it, and perhaps the most important, is derived from sources necessarily confidential in their nature. It is to reverse the natural course of proceedings, and to confound the proper functions of the government, for the legislative branch to instruct the executive in regard to its selection of executive officers. It is for the party possessing the least means of information, to direct that which possesses the most, and to enlighten the source from which alone it can, by the ordinary course of events, and by the healthful operations of the public functions, be enlightened.

A similar interference by a public printer is still more objectionable. Not only is this officer not placed by the constitution in the relation of an official adviser to the president, but his interference betrays a want of respect for the constituted agent of the people. It is an attempt, on the face of it, to degrade the office of the supreme magistrate of the nation. As the public printer is not entrusted with the appointing power, he is not consequently the object to which requisite information is communicated—and even if without adequate means, he could be supposed to obtain that knowledge of local parties, and personal qualifications, which could enable him to advise the president, his want of official responsibility would leave him without that security for fidelity and integrity, which our institutions attribute to the constitutional officers of the government. The motives which influence him may not be, solely, the good of the people, and the honor and reputation of the chief magistrate. They may not be the interests of an existing administration, but of one which he is striving to build up—not of the actual, but some future president. And it is at least possible that he may be influenced by considerations much more personal and interested—by those of private advantage—or *money*. The party which attempt to influence the president through the public printer, offer an indignity to him, and an outrage to the rights of the people, which merit distrust, repulse and censure. They cannot respect the government or public, and, in all probability, build their hopes of success, not on merit, but intrigue.

The attempt to carry an appointment by popular recommendation, is again deficient in proper respect for the office where the power of appointment is placed by the constitution. To executive intelligence and discrimination the important trust is confided—and the popular suffrages are neither deemed by our political institutions, nor are they, in fact, the suitable depository of the power. The attempt to carry an appointment by popular recommendation is virtually an attack on the executive prerogative, and withholds the confidence which ought, as our institutions suppose, to be placed in the chief magistrate. It is virtually to wrest from the executive its appropriate functions, and to confer them on the people, where, by the constitution, they are not placed. It is even worse than this, for popular suffrages are always cast under a strong sense of public duty and responsibility—while popular recommendations are seldom given with deliberation—still more seldom freely and unsolicited, and never with a belief that they remove from the executive the full measure of its responsibility. They are, in fact, too frequently an act to which parties attach no manner of importance, which they deem to be wholly ineffectual, and consent to, not from a conviction of justice or propriety, but as the most easy means of extrication from vexatious and embarrassing solicitations. “A long list of names,” said an old and experienced senator to the writer, “always renders me suspicious of a candidate for office—he shows, by the act of presenting it, that he dares not trust his qualifications and claims to the executive intelligence and discrimination, but relies on the popular favor of those among the people, whose motives for, or sincerity in their interference cannot be known—whose interest in

the prosperity of the administration may be frequently doubted, and whose competency to judge of the qualifications of candidates, may be, and often is, exceedingly questionable. Rely upon it, sir, such means will never be resorted to with effect under the administration of Gen. Jackson."

Scarcely was the result of the presidential contest rendered probable, when the Statesman candidates began to cast about for popular recommendations. It is not material for my purpose to consider minutely the character of the recommendations they obtained. It may be sufficient, in general, to say, that they expressed neither the public sentiment of this place, nor that of the most respectable supporters of the president—they embraced all who could sign their names, many apprentices and children, and in some cases actually *women*—but as the sex of the fairer portion of creation is frequently indicated by their names, this was a source which they were ultimately compelled to reject. It is probably unnecessary to remark that this was a course to which the members of the Jackson republican party could not descend—they heard of Mr. Nath'l. Greene's "*round robins*" with a smile, and rested their pretensions on indisputable claims to respectability which, it was supposed, the government must possess ample means to learn. Mr. Dunlap, who "thanked God that he wanted no office," did not choose to take his chance with the public sentiment here, but went to the bar of a neighboring county, in which he was born and brought up, for testimony of his former character and qualifications. Whether or not he wished that his efforts should remain a secret, from an apprehension of stirring up a competition which he might justly have dreaded, I do not know; or whether he thought that the bar of his own county might have shrunk from backing his pretension to the important legal office of district attorney of this commonwealth; but whatever was the cause, his application was so managed, that the disinterested gentleman who "thanked God that he wanted no office, and would not take any," was actually appointed by the president, in the first moment of his administration, and before his friends in this quarter, who felt for his high station a proper respect, had a chance even of laying their sentiments before him.

Mr. Henshaw rested his claims on a different ground. He was not to seek an appointment, but only to consent to receive one for the gratification of the Jackson party. Instead of his own solicitations, he relied with more confidence on the zeal of those who had the strongest personal interest in his success, and they were importunate enough to satisfy any modest desire in regard to them.

Any high minded politician who reads this article, will readily comprehend me when I say, that this solicitation of popular support was one to which a man of elevated character would not willingly have descended. To be an active competitor for popular recommendations with such men as Andrew Dunlap, Nathaniel, Greene and David Henshaw, was a degradation from which the soul of every high minded man would instinctively have shrunk. In regard to Col. Orne, we know that he never thought of the aid of such a measure, until he had it in

an indirect, but certain manner from the president, that such recommendations were expected. They are at best but of little value, but so far as they are of weight at all, those of no candidate, from this quarter, we will venture to assert, can compare with his. May the mercy of heaven ordain, that in the future administration of this government, no reliance shall be again placed, in the appointment to offices of an elevated character, upon the hollow and objectionable criterion of popular recommendations. Even the most deadly enemy of the administration who had been placed by the authority of the commonwealth in the national congress, acting under a sense of his high responsibility, would have been, if there were no other, a much more safe and honorable source of information, from which the character of important candidates might be known.

But of all the influences exerted in the disposition of local offices that of Jackson members from the other New England states, was the most objectionable. In the first place, their opportunities to obtain correct information were the worst which could possibly be imagined. Let the Jackson party in Ohio judge how it would have been pleased to have their party character and standing judged of by the testimony of members from Mississippi, or even Kentucky, on whose territories their own border, and it may learn in what way we viewed an impertinent interference with ours, of members from Maine. Can it be possible that an important state like Massachusetts, and a city of such rank in this Union as Boston, which could contain a party of sufficient consequences to have its claim for public appointments even considered, yet should not have men of sufficient intelligence, integrity and standing, to have their views considered when their own party interests were alone to be decided on? Were we bound to resort to some dull and bigoted senator of Maine, or some self sufficient intriguing representative, to obtain certificates of our party character, before we could be permitted to approach the executive ear? If such be the, to us, disgraceful condition on which the confidence of the government is to be awarded, thanks be to God that we have not received, and never shall receive the marks of its favor. As a citizen of Massachusetts I protest against such interference, and fervently pray that our party may never so lose sight of its dignity, and renounce its pretensions to respect, as either to solicit or even suffer such interference. Let representatives from Maine intrigue as they may, to quarter one of their prominent candidates on us, in order that some Portland collectorship may be left in their grasp,—let a New Hampshire printer disgrace the character and influence of New England, and give just cause of offence to the dignity of the government, as much as he may—we wash our hands of any benefit to be gained by such degrading, impertinent, insulting interference. It is unnecessary to say that to such means the Statesman party did, and the Jackson republican party did *not* resort.

There is one other channel of influence, only, to which, at this time, I think proper to advert. From the commencement of this administration, up to the present moment, squads after squads have proceeded

from Boston to Washington, to solicit appointments from the government. The government, it is said, inquire of them with some solicitude, of the estimation of the appointments in this quarter—of the character of parties,—and of the character of men. As if information from such sources were entitled to confidence ! In one word, let this be understood. In *ninety-nine* cases out of a *hundred*, these men are either openly or secretly agents of the Statesman party. The Jackson republican party, in its present ambiguous relation to the government,—supporting it, as we do, with fidelity, but being regarded with suspicion,—cannot send agents to Washington. Information given by such men, is that of one party only in our divisions. Let them receive the testimony of our enemies, if they please, but save us, for heaven's sake, from that of our falsely pretended friends. There are honorable men among us, whose opinions the government can at any time command, when they desire them ;—but these office hunters who go there for themselves, claiming to have the confidence of the Jackson republican party, and obtaining from some of its members, some unimportant letters, by *false pretences*, while they have secretly sold themselves and our cause to the Statesman party—let them be objects of just jealousy and suspicion. Upon the information they give, not the smallest reliance can be placed. They were, at best, but insignificant hangers on of the party, in its hour of prosperity, in the hopes of its support—but shameful deserters from it in the hour of its adversity. One of them, I am told, gravely recommended to the government the appointment of Col. Orne to be *nary agent*, as if the measure would either satisfy the party, or be acceptable to him ! The character of the party, and the interests of the government, can be secured by no half way measures, like this. Fraud and intrigue must be *put down*, or any change in this quarter will be worse than useless. The same want of confidence is due to the statements of others who are sometimes in Washington on similar errands—belonging to neither of the parties, they may perhaps be viewed as impartial witnesses. But such men want the favor of those who are holden up to us as the objects of the government's confidence—of such as are supposed to have influence, with the cabinet at least, if not with the president. They speak such language as it is supposed the government would be pleased to hear. If an opinion which will neither lie, nor flatter, of the appointments in this quarter be desired, let it be sought in the language of our merchants openly addressed to the president,—*in the ruin of the Jackson party*.

Were these faithful and unerring monitors regarded, Mr. Henshaw's standing would be well understood, and a doubt would be no longer felt as to how deeply the feelings of our citizens were outraged by the appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Greene. The government would then be no longer deceived by the plausible contrivances gotten up to give an appearance of popularity to Mr. Greene's appointment. Printers of newspapers may take a deep interest in obtaining accommodations from the actual post master. They may flatter him for his favors, and feel complacency in an appointment which injures the administration, and advances the interests of a rival candidate. They may speak fa-

vourably of improved accommodation, and suffer the government to infer the public satisfaction. They may repel, with perfect justice, ridiculous charges of stopping letters, on the authority of the president of the Statesman 4th of March dinner, to affect a candidate of his own recommendation. And the Statesman may know how to play its game by ascribing the indiscreet charge to Jackson republicans. But printers will not, for they dare not, say, in the face of this community, that the appointment of Mr. Greene did not shock the public sentiment in this quarter, and injure,—deeply injure—the government.

The question is not, whether Mr. Greene has, or has not kept back letters. This is not an easy matter, as long as confidence is justly placed in the character of the respectable clerks in the post office.—But a much more important inquiry is, does his character *give him claims* to the public confidence? Have his political opponents any grounds for confidence in his integrity, that he would not abuse their correspondence, if he could? Are they in fact willing to trust him? Let these questions be asked, and there will be no reluctance in furnishing an answer.

But of what consequence is it to the government whether printers of newspapers be disproportionably accommodated or not? The objection to Mr. Greene is, not that printers may not acquiesce, but that his appointment lowers the standard of qualifications for office, outrages the friends of the president and deeply injures the character of his administration. Any clerk in the post office—even a slave from the president's plantation—might, with proper aid, get through with the duties—and the weaker his hold on the public sentiment might be, the greater will be his efforts to conciliate public opinion. He would, willingly, for that purpose, sacrifice a part of the salary, for the balance would still be greater than his greatest ambition ever dared to aspire to, or might hope, otherwise, to receive. His efforts might conciliate some favor from those for whose accommodation they are made, but still the “deep damnation” of the appointment remains. “*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*” Why, it will still be asked, was he *selected*? Why were the pretensions of so many better men disregarded in his favor? Why ought the feelings of honorable Jackson men to have been wounded by a selection so degrading, so insulting, so injurious to them? Why ought they to be cursed with a measure which ruins their party, and deeply injures an administration they have striven so ardently to elevate? Remember the sentiment, so much misrepresented, of Colonel Johnson. Men who have acquired appointments by corruption, ought not to be kept in because they may try to discharge honestly their duties. The outraged rights of the people, the purity of the public institutions, have their claims. Let them act afterwards “*with the purity of the angels of heaven,*”—and still they bear about them the original sin. They must make an *atonement*; from the paradise into which they have so thrust themselves as to violate the sanctity of its holy ground, *they must be turned out.*

COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, NO. XV.

[CONCLUSION.]

We are now arrived at the period when the Jackson party, no longer a minority, and no longer in opposition, are in possession of the government. The commencement of an administration is a moment of great interest to a party, and to the country. The commanding traits in its character, will ordinarily be developed by its earliest measures; for it is a moment which custom has selected for the avowal of its principles, and men are then associated in the administration whose views and character are to influence, in an important degree, the reputation of the party, and the prosperity of the republic. It was a moment of deep interest to the Jackson parties here, for it teemed with their fate.

The most various and opposite opinions had been expressed of the character of Gen. Jackson. The Adams party had denied to him an ordinary share of intelligence and integrity, and predicted from his elevation misfortunes to his country, and disappointment to his friends. The Jackson party, on the other hand, seemed bound to him with an intense degree of attachment, and evinced an enthusiasm which had been awakened by no other candidate since the administration of Washington. The doubts of the Adams party did not shake the confidence of ours. We predicted an administration, in character as elevated, and in the popular esteem as strong, as any since the adoption of the federal constitution. Gen. Jackson had more personal fame, a stronger hold on the popular feelings, and a greater independence of party thralldom, than any other president, but Washington. His hold on the popular will gave him more power, and the character of his party gave him better materials, for the construction of an administration at once solid and brilliant, prosperous and renowned, than any, without exception, which preceded him. The highest talents, and the highest virtues of the country, might be called to his cabinet, and were already placed there by the public sentiment, and the sentiment of the party. The appointments to local offices would be of men of the highest grade of character; the standard of qualifications for political trusts,—the most infallible criterion of the strength and splendor of the institutions of a republic, and of the wisdom of an administration,—would be raised higher—the moral aggregate force of the administration, executive and ministerial, would comprehend a larger amount of talent and reputation, than the country had before known. It is the prominent characteristic of great practical minds, to know *men*,—to *employ* as well as to exhibit *talents*,—to select materials suited to the grandeur of its own elevated conceptions. Great commanders have great officers. The fame of Napoleon's generals was surpassed only by his own. The lieutenants of Alexander, after his death, became the sovereigns of the world. Where the proportions of greatness are observed in the character of the chief, they are observed in those whom he calls to associate with him. The impulse is felt through the whole machine, military or political, which he moves,—and every grade is

stamped with a corresponding excellence, each part is in harmony with all the others,—the whole is the exhibition of all that society can furnish, or the institutions of government can employ, of that which is at the same time useful and honorable,—which advances public prosperity, or builds up political reputation.

Gen. Jackson was also less embarrassed by party machinery than any other candidate ever was. He was not an exclusive party candidate of any known existing political party. He was emphatically the candidate of the people, of all parties, and in defiance of party. From the moment he was brought forward, nay, from a period long anterior to it, his determination to regard the public interest and honor, in contempt of the prejudices and watch-words of party, was so distinctly avowed, and so prominently claimed, that it lay at the foundation of the contest urged in his behalf, was the nucleus on which his party gathered,—was the bond of union between him and his supporters.

There was, besides, a principle which the party thus built up avowed, and which, entering into the very elements of its character, might be regarded as its moral aim and object—it was the *protection and restoration* of the *popular feature*, in its *purity and beauty*—it was the vindication of the rights of electors from the usurpations of intrigue—it was to bring the government nearer to the will, and in closer subjection to the power, of the people. The tendency of Gen. Jackson's administration was to *put down*, and not *reward*, encroachments on the popular rights—to check the *purchase of office* by the *sale of the popular franchises*—to stop *corruption in elections*, not to reward and give it *countenance*.

Are these principles those which lie at the foundation of this administration? If they are, let us trace their application to the different parties of Jackson men in this place.

I might speak, in the first place, of their individual character—of the elementary materials of which the two parties were composed. People at a distance who have little knowledge of the individuals attached to either, may view this as a subject of little importance, or one of doubtful controversy, and think it natural that each may claim a preference, and with equal reason. But it is not so, and the writer is willing to pledge his reputation for veracity on this subject. Let those who are in opposition to both sections of the party, who are neutral to their question of discord, decide it. Ask the most respectable members of the Adams party here—ask, in Washington, our state delegation,—men as well informed of the public sentiment, as any in this community, and whose character repels every suspicion of dishonor. Will they not say that the Jackson republican party was, for its numbers, as respectable as any our city could form—and will they not say, with equal confidence, that the Statesman party, generally, was one of the lowest rabble which the polluted retreats of corruption could send forth? Who else, except the parties to the intrigue for office which I have alluded to before, but a worthless rabble, insensible to the value of reputation, would have aided men in the pursuit of the corrupt projects which have been brought to light?

But besides the difference in the respectability of their component elements, in what did they differ in their objects and principles? The Statesman party proclaimed that no Jackson men but old democrats, should be acknowledged, by the administration, as its friends. *We* contended that all the friends of the president who would act with the national republican party, should act together on equal grounds, and with equal rights. They raised an exclusive party banner—we a Jackson banner. They proscribed a part of the friends of the president,—we proscribed nobody. They were for war, among the opponents of the late administration—we were for peace among all the friends of the present. Their success was proscription and division—ours was union and harmony. To sanction their course by the government was to make war on us—to sanction ours was to hold out the olive branch of peace to all who would receive it. Which of these parties, then, placed itself on the basis of the principles of the president, and on the pledged policy of his administration? This question has been asked before; who can answer it, except to the advantage of the Jackson republican party? Many writers have shown a disposition to defend the Statesman party—defend them here, and let us see what imposing sophism ingenuity can devise, to reconcile facts with the principles with which they are at war.

But it is not simply that the Statesman party could not furnish men whose character, in trusts of dignity, would elevate the reputation of the government. They fell below the humblest standard, of qualifications for trusts which had been regarded by any previous administration. Never before were offices of dignity conferred on men of so low a standing. Instead of elevating the character of the party above all others, they degraded it below all example, and all precedent. Instead of augmenting the glory of an administration, they shocked the public sentiment to a degree of disgust which our citizens never before felt towards people, selected by the constituted authorities of the country, to bring home the acts of the government to our own doors. But the evil did not stop here. The question of popular rights was involved, and more deeply involved, than by the conduct of any other party, or men, or body of men in this country. What has occurred elsewhere equal to it? Who ever before openly wrested from the people the right of selecting the candidates for their suffrages? Where else was the shameless corrupt character of the object so openly avowed? If the influence of the people over the acts of the government was to be restored in its purity, where are the claims stronger than here? Are we, in Boston, an exception, as Jackson men, as Americans—so that usurpations on our rights are not to be resisted, nay, are to be rewarded? Let the friends of the Statesman party show any thing, if they can, in the conduct of Mr. Clay or his friends equal to theirs—equally deserving of the indignation of the country, or the correcting hand of the government. I challenge the union for a parallel!

On what principle, then, has the president conferred the trusts of the government on that degraded party? I call for an answer on any

one that can furnish it. Their character and qualifications could not raise, but degraded the character of the government. They did not *sustain* the principle of Gen. Jackson, of an independence of party trammels, but *opposed* it. He proclaimed that party names should not be the basis of his administration—they, that they should. He was for bursting the shackles—they, for fastening them more firmly on his limbs. They insulted the chief by denouncing his principles, while that chief himself has rewarded them, and virtually proscribed the friends by whom his principles were professed and defended. Gen. Jackson proclaimed that the corrupt interference with the rights of the people should be checked by straining the influence and power of his administration to the last nerve,—and yet the most signal objects of favor—where the trusts conferred are the most disproportioned to the character and services of the men,—have been the perpetrators of the greatest outrage on the rights of the people, which has ever been practised by any party, or any man, in this country. Never, I repeat, and I challenge refutation, has corruption appeared, under our form of government, in so revolting, and shameful, and disgraceful a form, as in the Statesman party of Boston.

The question then which must arise, and which cannot be winked out of sight, is, have we been deceived in our estimate of the president's character, or has he been deceived in the character of his appointments? It is reduced to this alternative—there is no other, and there is no escape from it. Duff Green, and the Duff-Green party, assert, that the president was not deceived, that the character of his Boston officers was fully known to him, and that they retain his confidence, in spite of their character, and their subsequent glaring folly, as fully to this hour, as at the moment of their appointment. *This we deny.* Duff Green says, the president knowingly preferred low men for high offices. *We contend,* he aims to elevate the standard of qualification, and to throw credit and dignity on the whole aggregate body, executive and ministerial, of the administration. Duff Green says, the president acted considerably and definitely, on a full knowledge of the merits of the subject, and of the conduct and pretensions of the men. We say the president has been deceived by diabolical frauds, which he had not, in the hurry and pressure of the moment, the means and the time to detect—that the subject was not settled considerably and definitely, but on the other hand, only provisionally, until he could, at more leisure, obtain the information requisite for a definitive decision. Duff Green says, the president assumes the conduct of the Statesman party,—we say he rejects it—and that he will yet throw the responsibility where it is merited. Let the event determine which is right.

If I am pressed with an objection, why the president should have decided on a subject of such importance without adequate information,—the answer is undoubtedly, that greater deliberation would have been better for the country, and better for the party. But whose fault is it, that from every quarter of the country, the party rushed to Washington before even his administration commenced—beset him in every form, by night and day—pressed, harassed, perplexed and amazed him with claims, solicitations, prayers and tears? Whose fault is it,

that he was treated with so little delicacy and respect, that the requisite time for a knowledge of the state of his party was not allowed him? Thank God, as it has been said before, the Jackson republican party of Boston had no hand in these things—they sent no committees to intrude on his retirement, and demand, disgracefully, their pay—they pressed not for appointments, but only for *delay in making them*, until the whole merits of the subject could be known to the government.

The most illiberal opponent of the president must agree that his character and policy are not yet definitely ascertained by these provisional arrangements. From the nature of things, he could have been but little acquainted with the circumstances of each portion of his political friends; and being more heavily, and indelicately assailed, and pressed upon by the party, than any of his predecessors, he made the arrangement which seemed to him the best in his power, according to the actual state of his information; but he made it *provisionally*. He has filled the offices for the time being, and has been, and still is, seeking the information requisite for his definitive decision. This is the view I take of his course. Time will confirm it, or show its fallacy. Duff Green insists upon my error, but I cannot take Duff Green's authority for it. To give the president information is the object of these numbers. If it be true that he does not seek it, the main object will be defeated; but they will not then, probably, have been written in vain. There is a correcting and redeeming power in the public opinion, which never rejects light, and will not be appealed to in vain. Private communications would not answer an equal purpose, for the *truth* of those could not be tested, and there would be opposing representations to contradict them. But a public discussion involves a tribunal of judgment, as well as of testimony. It presents an issue which men must meet, or shrink from. Statements made *here* require to be supported. *Public* assertions can be denied and disproved, when they are not true. Character and reputation are at stake on the issue; and the cause that professes merit, is required to show its pretensions to it. In one word, public discussion elicits truth and exposes falsehood, lays bare crime, and vindicates innocence. Let the guilty shrink from it—the honest man has nothing to fear.

The moment is now arrived when Columbus must take leave of his readers. He is conscious of having taxed their patience too deeply, and yet, he is well aware, there is much overlooked of equal importance to the community and the government. Others must finish the work which Columbus has begun. The issue is national; and the end, the ascendancy or overthrow of the Jackson party. The moment of redemption is not yet past; but another step forward, and we shall be placed where the wisest counsels will be useless, and the grandest efforts unavailing. May the Omnipotent Being who directs the conduct of human affairs so determine it, that whatever the event may be, the interests and honor of our beloved country shall be sustained and promoted, though dynasties fall, parties be shattered and divided, and the strongest political friendships be severed for ever.

COLUMBUS.

(The following letters from Col. Orne to Gen. Duff Green, are so intimately connected with the subjects discussed by Columbus, that the publishers deemed it expedient to print them in connexion with those numbers.)

TO GEN. DUFF GREEN.

Boston, Sept. 13, 1829.

I shall make no apology for obtruding my private affairs on the public, although I am sensible that it is an act which usually detracts, in the public estimation, from the delicacy of a private individual. If the circumstances in which I am placed do not speak for me, I stand, I admit, without excuse. Notwithstanding my total silence, in regard to you, for now nearly a year, you have, at short intervals, during that whole period, attacked my character, as well as my conduct, in a manner too explicit to be misapprehended, in the columns of a paper which carries your calumnies to every quarter of the republic. My motives for bearing so long, calumnies so easily refuted, were not, you may well believe, any apprehension of your resentment, or distrust of my ability to expose your falsehood. Party dissension is productive of consequences at once so injurious and so extensive, that *very much* should be endured in the effort to avert it. But there are limits to the sacrifices which an honest man can be called on to make; and these will be soon perceived when it ceases to be a question of interest, and becomes one of honor. You have reviled me, for a year, Mr. Green, and I have endured it, in silence. I will endure it no longer, and proceed to prove you, what I have long known you to be, a shameless *liar*. This is a harsh epithet, I acknowledge, but I know none other in the English language which can furnish an adequate substitute.

In your paper of the 12th inst. among many other remarks about me, there is the following paragraph:

“It is urged against those who have been appointed to office at Boston, that they have written for the Boston Statesman!! And this objection is made a virtue in Col. Orne, who, not content with having received *payment in cash* from the *real editor and proprietor of the paper*, set up his services as a partizan writer in that print, thus *demanding* to be *twice paid* for the *same services*.”

If this statement be false, Mr. Green, the guilt of falsehood must fasten on your character, for you cannot allege that you have been innocently imposed upon by the fraud of your informers. You have been repeatedly warned that the men, in Boston, with whom you have been so intimate, were uttering falsehoods in relation to the Jackson republican party of Boston, and particularly in relation to me. You were told that there was *another side* to the story, which it would be

necessary for you to hear, before you could learn the truth. And if you are really deceived, which I have not sufficient charity for you to suppose, your mistake is one of choice, not necessity, and because you have preferred falsehood, rather than truth. Your charge is concisely this—that I advocated, as a writer in the Boston Statesman, the election of Gen. Jackson, for which I received pay from the proprietor of that paper, and *for which also* I asked to be appointed to an office. This you term demanding to be paid twice for the same services.

This charge *forces* me, Mr. Green, to state my connexion with that newspaper.

At the close of the year 1820, or the commencement of 1821, (and I cannot, at this moment, state the date for the want of a file of the newspaper,) the Boston Statesman was commenced to be published. The parties to the publication were Benjamin True formerly the publisher of the Yankee, his partner, Equality Weston, Peter N. Green, (now Nath'l. Greene, post master of Boston) and myself. Mr. Peter Green had just before published a little paper in Haverhill, in this state, in support of the republican party, and previously, I believe in the same place, had published another paper in support of the federal party. When myself, with others, determined to publish the Statesman, we invited Mr. Green, as an active young printer, to superintend the mechanical part of the establishment.

The editorial department was to be exclusively under my care, but the profits, as well as the hazard, were to belong exclusively to the other three parties, with the single exception that I shall proceed to state.

For editing this paper, published twice a week, one year, the other parties were to pay me three hundred dollars, (it should have been stated \$350) and assign me the right of one fourth part of the establishment, or as it is sometimes termed, the good will of the paper. If it were well edited, it was supposed its reputation would be worth something, and he on whom its character was made to depend, was to have an interest in the success. This year terminated, as nearly as I can recollect, on the first day of February, 1822, after which I received from the other parties their note for the three hundred dollars, and nothing else whatever. *How* I edited the paper, its files may show for themselves, but I may be permitted to say, the paper had as much original editorial matter as any semi-weekly paper, then, or before, or since, published in Boston. That it had some reputation, may be inferred from the fact that many of its editorial articles were republished in other and distant quarters of the union. The tone of its editorial discussions was dignified and gentlemanly,—as unlike that of the same paper afterwards, under other editorial management, as it was to the present tone of the United States Telegraph.

If the Statesman afterwards became, as it was, one of the most degraded and abusive papers published in the country, it was not my fault.

Before the Statesman was published, and immediately after I commenced, in Boston, the practice of the law, I also was an editor and

part proprietor of the Boston Yankee, for the purchase of which interest I paid the proprietor, Mr. Thomas Rowe, six hundred dollars.— Judge Ware, of Portland, also purchased an interest in the Yankee, for a similar sum, and, for a while, we edited the paper jointly. Judge Ware afterwards left Boston, and conveyed again his interest to Mr. Rowe, when the sole editorship devolved on me. For these services I received no part of the proceeds of the business, but was paid a small annual sum. Messrs. True and Weston subsequently purchased Mr. Rowe's interest, and I continued, for a while, to edit the paper on the same terms. After some time, not being able to agree further with these gentlemen, I sold them my interest, and left altogether the establishment. They gave me their note of hand for the amount. I had ceased, I think, for some years my connexion with the Yankee, when the publication of the Statesman was commenced.

When Mr. Green was invited to take a part in the Statesman, it was agreed that he should purchase a part of True and Weston's establishment; and a part of the purchase money was appropriated to take up the note which I held against them. Mr. Green, however, not having much capital, asked me to loan him the amount, and I loaned it to him. When I ceased to be editor of the Statesman, True and Green gave me a new note for the sum so loaned to Mr. Peter Green, to which was also added the sum of three hundred dollars (\$350) due for my editorial services as I have before mentioned.

It may be necessary to inform you, Mr. Duff Green, as you were not perhaps then a politician, and, it may be, were driving cattle in Missouri, though it cannot be necessary to inform the public, that on the 1st of February, 1822, the contest for a choice of a successor to Mr. Monroe, was *not begun*. From that day to this, during the whole presidential contest of the last seven years, I have received from Mr. Green, or from any body else, directly or indirectly, no money, compensation, benefit or advantage, in any possible shape, for my services, as you are pleased to call them, or for my political writings. I wrote in the Boston Statesman during the whole of this protracted contest, probably *more* than any *other man*, without fee, compensation or reward—without the expectation, hope, or possibility of fee, compensation or reward. My labors were gratuitous, unrewarded, and as it now appears unthankful, nay, are made against me the subject of reproach.

But the truth is not all told yet. The amount due me from the publishers of the Statesman, being at that time nearly *all the property I was worth*, and for a part of which I was *in debt*, was continued for years, with those publishers as a *loan*. No part of it was paid, principal or interest, until within, if I remember correctly, one or two years. And after it was paid, I continued to endorse True and Greene's notes, at a bank, for at least eight or nine hundred dollars at a time. Nay, more—up to the very moment of the establishment of the Jackson Republican, I was an endorser for True and Greene, on a note to the North Bank, for five hundred dollars, until I withdrew all connexion with the Statesman, and placed an equal amount in the new paper. I need not inform you that during the whole presidential contest up to that time,

this sum of eight or nine hundred dollars was in actual jeopardy, for I knew the publishers of that paper were insolvent, and would never be able to pay me, unless the contest were successful.

But the whole truth is not told yet. During the same period, there have been times in Boston when money could not be commanded on any credit, and immense sacrifices, on the best notes, two or three per cent. a month, were made to obtain it. At such times Mr. Greene has resorted to me, as his last resource, to borrow money to sustain his paper, and I have loaned it to him, without security, and without interest one or two hundred dollars at a time, and for months together, out of my funds in the bank to meet the current expenses of my family.

I thus supported that paper by my pen, and by my funds, knowing that if the contest were not successful, I should be a heavy loser,—probably not much short of one-thousand dollars. Yet I continued the loan, and placed the whole amount cheerfully on the result of the contest, and a large part of it up to the very moment when I detected a conspiracy on the part of the publisher of that paper, with others who governed it, to effect my political destruction. It has been stated to me,—but what kind of heart must that be which could credit it?—that the very notes I endorsed for True and Greene, nay the very notes given me for borrowed money when it could be obtained in no other way, were taken to Washington, and shown to the president, *in proof* of my being paid for my writings in support of his election. Gratitude, I have long known, is not a common quality in the human character, and I have long acted in the belief, that it is never to be calculated on: but ingratitude like this, is not human,—it is fiendish,—it is incredible. The heart that could anticipate it,—that could suspect it,—must be as black as——as——Duff Green's.

I must reserve for another paper, some remarks on other parts of your remarkable statement.

HENRY ORNE.

TO GEN. DUFF GREEN, NO. II.

Boston, Sept. 22, 1829.

The following paragraph in your remarks presents another assertion which I deem it proper to notice.

"After it was pretty well ascertained that Gen. Jackson would be elected, Mr. Orne proposed to those with whom he had for a short time acted, that they should unite and nominate him for collector to succeed Mr. Dearborn."

It is impossible for any assertions to be made, regarding any body, or on any subject, more false than this. A dispute about appointments, or even a conversation about them, voluntarily, while an election is pending, is one of the last acts of folly I should be induced to commit. On this subject I can appeal without fear to every man who has been in my confidence, or company, during the whole presidential contest. In regard to the Crawford campaign, I am not aware, if the event had been fortunate, that there was a person in the commonwealth who would have been a competitor with me for any appoint-

ment I might have desired. Where is the man who can say that he ever heard me name the subject of an office during the three years of that contest? And the very ground on which the Statesman party avowed their opposition to my appointment as collector, was, that I would not *talk about offices*. The confidence that I would not make *bargains* with men for subordinate appointments—that I would administer the duties of the trust *independently*, if it were conferred on me,—was the leading motive of the conspiracy to destroy me. Until the farce of the legislative convention was acted, it was a subject never named between me and the friends of Gen. Jackson, but once. Gen. King of Maine, once recommended, (this was in the spring of 1827,) to the Statesman party, to present my name to Mr. Adams as a candidate for that place, in the belief that the Jackson majority in the senate would not sanction Gen. Dearborn's re-appointment, and that our wishes might possibly be successful. I absolutely refused to sanction any such movement.

After the farce of the legislative convention, the determination to destroy me was apparent, and I resolved to unravel the motives of the intrigue. By the merest accident I was informed that preparations for making Mr. Henshaw collector had been long made, and at once saw the motive of the hostility to me. I sought conversation with the intriguers to find out their plan, and became at length fully informed, after some sharp altercation, as if in defiance, of their disposition of offices. I communicated nothing from myself more than was necessary to bring them out. It is not to our apparent enemies that we resort to place confidence. *It is not true* that I ever asked, before the election, any man in Boston whatever, to support me for any office under this administration. Such falsehood has been asserted here, I know, by those whose slander of me has been profusely poured into the ears of the government. The slanderer may be willing to back one falsehood with another, but I am ready to support this statement under the solemnity of an oath. I never begged any man's or any party's support for any office, and if I ever receive an appointment under this, or under any other administration, it shall be conferred on me freely, without solicitation and without intrigue. Your next paragraph, that I shall notice, is of a similar character.

"After the election, Gen. Boyd and Col. Orne came to this city, and we venture to affirm that no one of all the office hunters who have visited Washington, has been more importunate."

And pray, Mr. Green, what do you know of the fact you "*venture to affirm*?" While I was in Washington I had *no conversation* with you, you well know. You cannot have forgotten that when a senator of congress introduced you to me, supposing that we were strangers, I refused to notice you, and was constant in that refusal all the time I was in Washington! How then do *you know* that I was *importunate* for office? Some one must have informed you, or else the story is your own gratuitous falsehood. Produce your proof, and gainsay, if you can, a particle of my denial. *During the two weeks I was in Washington, I never asked, directly nor indirectly, any man's assistance, or sup-*

port for any office whatever. *I made no application for any office whatever.* Who, then, could have told you such a falsehood, and what authority do you require before you "*venture to make an assertion.*"

The only request I ever made for any appointment under this administration, or for any assistance to gain one, was made to the official organs of the government, in transmitting the recommendations which had been obtained in my favor, and with very slight agency on my part. My "*importunity*" has been one of rather a remarkable character. The news of the appointment of a collector reached Boston on Saturday evening. The Thursday before, being Fast day, I transmitted directly to the president himself a letter *withdrawing the application in my favor.* My motive it concerns you little to know. You may undoubtedly assert that I had well ascertained, previously, that I could not be successful. I was, indeed, disgusted with the malice and slander which had been so extensively brought to bear against me, and in which you took so responsible and infamous a part. I apprehend that I was to be made a victim, and reconciled myself to my fate. But so far from knowing that an adverse appointment had been made, all our information from Washington, led us to believe that the appointment would have been deferred much longer. This letter of withdrawal was forwarded to the president on the 9th of April—on the 11th, the news reached here, and astonished us beyond measure, that this appointment had been given to Mr. Henshaw. You may judge what reason I had to expect this event, at the time, from the following extract of a letter from Andrew J. Donelson, Esq. the private secretary of the president. As it was in some measure official, not confidential, and its own nature requires no secrecy, I hope I violate no delicacy in communicating it.

WASHINGTON, April 3d, 1829.

"I also add the expressions of the hope that you will not suffer the statement of others to interrupt the addresses to the proper department of any recommendations, or testimonials, which you may have in your possession. *The appointments to the customs are not fixed upon, nor are they pledged to any.*"

So far from being importunate at Washington, I never went there with a *view of applying for any appointment.* I had been repeatedly informed that Mr. Nath'l. Greene was then, and had been all winter, uttering his slanders against me. My sole object in going was to hear and repel any falsehood he might allege. I staid in Washington long enough to see most of the leading men of the Jackson party; but these were above Mr. Nath'l. Greene's reach. I was satisfied that their minds had not been prejudiced, and came away. For the opinions of such men as you and your associates, I did not care, and Mr. Nath'l. Greene was welcome to utter among you any falsehoods he thought proper. I was strongly urged, by an intimate friend of the president, to remain until after the 4th of March: he was aware I had enemies, and insisted that I should remain to meet them. *I feared them too little, and despised them too much.* I did not regard them enough to encounter a scene from which every feeling of delicacy revolted. I thank God, still, that I had no part in that scene which

covers, when it is recalled to mind, every American cheek with a blush. The throng that pressed on the president before he was fairly in office, soliciting rewards in a manner so destitute of decency, and of respect for his character and office, is, with your 8th of January printer's dinner, among the most disgraceful reproaches to the character of our countrymen. "Before I would behold such another 4th of March," said a faithful, but indignant friend of the president, "I would see the whole district of Columbia blown to heaven, with all that it contained." Gen. Boyd indeed remained there. He had public claims on his country which gave a sanction to his presence. He had claims which every respectable man in this quarter has admitted for years. But on *party grounds, not a member of the Jackson republican party was present*, and I thanked God for it. Even the twenty brazen representatives of the Statesman party, one would think, might have felt enough regard for decency to retire, when they had you and your host to act for them.

You speak of me "as objecting to the appointment of editors." I never published a syllable upon that subject. You further remark.

"The Intelligencer asserts that these gentlemen (the respectable friends of the president in this quarter) are shocked at the cruel extent to which the power of removal has been carried. Was Gen. Boyd shocked at the removal of his predecessor? If so, why did he importune the president to make the removal? Why did he accept the office when made vacant? Was Col. Orne shocked at the removal of Messrs. (Mr.) Dearborn or Hill? If so why did he solicit both or either of those offices, before the removals were made?"

You either misunderstand, Mr. Green, or else you willingly misstate the argument. The objection to the numerous appointments of printers, which has been made, not by me, but very extensively by the friends of the president, all over the country, is not because editors or printers have been appointed; but because men have been, as it is alleged, for no other reason than because they *were printers*. Let candidates be selected for their character, conduct, and qualifications—let those be such as to elevate the character of the government which appoints them, and the offices they fill, and there will be no expression of mortification or regret. The professions of men ought not to enter into the consideration of their qualifications for a public trust. It is no objection to a man that he was an editor, but it is nothing in his favor. He should not be selected merely as an editor, nor rejected on that account. Printers, as a body, should not be a peculiarly favored class—nay, the proprietors of presses, the publishers by profession, should be rather viewed with strictness and jealousy, for the preservation of the purity of the press, than as objects of signal bounty on the success of their candidate. It is not merely because Isaac Hill, and Nathaniel Greene, are printers, but because of their especial want of suitable characters and qualifications for the offices they hold,—because they are nothing but printers, or editors, and that of a degraded class—that the public sentiment has been shocked by their appointment.

You well know, Mr. Green, that I am by profession neither a printer nor an editor, but engaged in the practice and in the administration of the law. If I am a candidate for a public trust, at all, it is neither as an editor nor a writer. I readily agree with you that these afford

me no claim, although the services in that line were *gratuitous*, indeed, Mr. Green ; but whether a suitable candidate, or not, depends on considerations of character. If this places me below, or on a level, with those who have contrived to obtain the offices in this place, I readily admit that my pretensions have been very properly rejected. But here again you much mistake the matter. That we are in trouble, it is not because we have not obtained appointments, but that *unfit people have*. We could have well done without offices, but *not with bad appointments*. Let the men selected be suitable to the respectability and standing of the party—let them elevate the character of the government, and reflect honor on the institutions of the country, and we shall be well contented. Let exalted trusts not be confided to those whose avowed object was discord and division in the party—on those who had published their determination to proscribe a part of the friends of the administration, and you will find us not quite so *selfish* and *importunate* as you imagine.

You insist upon it that those who have applied for appointments complain, with an ill grace, that the incumbents have been removed. If such there be, they are guilty of shameful selfishness and inconsistency, and you cannot treat them with too much severity. But here you mistake the fact. The people of Boston do not complain that Gen. Dearborn, or Dr. Hill, or Maj. Melville, was removed. All these gentlemen, doubtless, had friends who would have been happy to see them retained. Some of them, certainly, are very respectable men, and discharged their duties in a very creditable manner ; and of these, the people made no *complaint*. Still they did not suppose that they would, or ought to be, continued in office. There are certain trusts of an elevated character under our government, which ought not to be perpetual, in the hands of any families, or of any *men*. *Rotation* is a sound, practical, republican principle, under our form of government, and for which the people have frequently avowed a strong predilection. The collectorship, naval office, and post-office, had been long enough in the hands of the late incumbents, two of whom were known to be very rich, and if all of them were not, it was their own fault. The people expected a change, and in regard to the post office, I believe, almost universally desired it. In regard to the collectorship also, although well satisfied with the official conduct of the collector, they thought the office had been long enough in the hands of Gen. Dearborn, and in those of his family. The reason was still more forcible in the case of Maj. Melville, who had been still longer in office, had accumulated, it was supposed, a very large fortune ; and whose repose, rather than whose services, commanded the public sympathies. But if this had been otherwise, and stronger reasons were needed for his removal, they could, I am satisfied, have been found. If the public sentiment has been hurt by any transactions connected with these men, it was rather at the time and manner, than by the fact, of their removal. But the great cause of dissatisfaction was not *their removal*, but the appointment of *two* of their *successors*.

There have been, however, removals here, which have given a deep shock to the public sentiment. Not those made by the government,

but by the officers whom the government appointed. Rotation is a good principle applied to leading political trusts ; but when brought to bear on humble occupations—on experienced services, not rewarded, but barely sustained—on trusts to which experience is requisite, but for which the compensation is something less than an equivalent—on men who had given up all other pursuits, and embraced these for a livelihood, with no reason to anticipate a removal while their conduct merited the public confidence—when rotation is applied to these offices, and is made to carry ruin and dismay into the bosoms of private families—making wretched sufferers of dependent wives, and helpless children—then it is that removals are complained of—that public sentiment is shocked—that business men, *not politicians*, unite to interfere and petition for redress—and then it is that *rotation* emits a bad odor, and becomes a subject of reproach. It is this kind of removals, when subordinate agents are made the victims of petty tyrants in power, that agitates the public sentiment, and kindles indignation. It is that kind of removals which the president has *stopped*, and implicitly *censured*, of which our people complain, and for his prompt interference in which, the president has gained, in this quarter, a good deal of grateful credit. His views of rotation appear to be such as I have stated—such as were well known to be the views of the Crawford party in the previous contest—such as I *know* were the views of the illustrious leader of that party himself. These subordinate agents should be removed only for *cause*—this appears to be the sentiment of the government, and it is, most assuredly the sentiment of our people.

I have thus, General Green, met, I believe, every charge you have advanced against my character—I have told you the truth, which neither you *nor any other man* can controvert. And if this *be* the truth, are you not ashamed of the calumnies you have circulated against me ? Is there one particle of honesty in your character—have you the slightest regard for truth, or individual justice ?—If you answer me yes, then I exhort you to fall on your knees, and ask my forgiveness. Let not shame keep down your penitence, for believe me, in your present condition, contrition is infinitely more becoming in you than obstinacy. Dare, for a single moment, to be an honest man, and you will perceive such an elevation in your feelings as will make you regret that you never tried it before. You have endeavored to injure me, but I trust, with the blessing of the God of justice, that the endeavor will rebound, yet, to my benefit. Avow your error,—be penitent—promise reformation, and I will forgive you. I will exercise all the charity towards you that a christian spirit can impart ; and though there are points in your character which must forever repel my respect, your offences, and attempted injuries, shall be forgiven and forgotten.

I now take my leave of you Gen. Green, I hope forever. There are points regarding *your* conduct, on which I could speak at length ; but "*Columbus*" has promised to do you justice, and in his hands I leave you. If I am not deceived, *your turn will come soon*.

HENRY ORNE.

We have thought proper to give in connexion with the Letters of Columbus, the piece signed Anti-Janus, which, by commencing a violent and abusive attack on some of the friends of this administration, drew out Columbus in reply. The writer is not known, but there is little doubt it was gotten up under the influence of our Custom house, and other national officers here. It was originally published in the New Hampshire Patriot, but soon reprinted in many of the Duff Green papers.

What constitutes "a concealed enemy of the Administration."?—*Boston Evening Bulletin.*

The above question being addressed, not to an individual, but to the public generally, may I presume, be answered by any member of the community who chooses to take the trouble. By different persons, different answers would doubtless be given; and perhaps the true definition may only be obtained by collating and examining the varying opinions which may result from the exercise of various minds on this delicate subject. With your leave Mr. Editor, I will contribute my mite in the way of elucidation, by delineating such a character as I should suppose might properly be denominated "a concealed enemy of the administration."! Please remember the character is but a "fancy sketch," and is to be so considered, however, much it may resemble that of any actual living demagogue.

Col. Christopher Crafty is a man who stands six feet in his stockings, with a figure and eye which would have been very fine and expressive were not the beauty of the one destroyed by the habitual gastronomic indulgence which has stamped *sensualist*, in indelible characters, on the expression of the other. The intimate connexion between matter and mind, and their mutual dependence, are admirably displayed in Col. Crafty, and render him an excellent subject for the experiments of a phrenological professor. Like his outward form, his mind was originally of fair dimensions and constructed with all usual capabilities for receiving and reflecting good or evil impressions. And now, when his despoiled head gives its unbidden testimony that the meridian of life has arrived, and teaches us to look for the permanent unchangeable impress of time upon the heart and mind, let us lift the curtain and read. What is written in that heart? Alas, but one word—and that word traced with icicles, freezing the current of every noble, every generous impulse—that word is **SELFISHNESS**. What on that mind, committed to his keeping by the great source of all purity, fair and white and pure? How has it been kept? What characters are there, and by whom traced?—*Cunning, Treachery, and Falsehood* stand out in bold relief, proclaiming that **SELFISHNESS** and **SENSUALITY** have been but too busy and too successful in marring what God created in the image of his own beauty.

Such we will suppose to be a correct delineation of the mental, moral and physical characteristics of Col. Crafty. We will now trace the course it might be supposed such a man would pursue as a politician. During three years of the last Presidential contest, he adopted the non-committal system. He could not decide what course to take—for he knew not which candidate would succeed. He felt that the people were for Jackson, but he could not believe the *politicians* would suffer him to be elected. While Gov. Clinton lived, it was possible that he might be taken up, and Jackson abandoned, Gov. Clinton died.—Still Mr. Crawford was alive, and might be brought forward and elected after Adams and Jackson had demolished each other. Under these circumstances, in his profound wisdom, he determined to deny in the most public manner, that he took any part in the contest—while at the same time he privately kept up an active communication with the friends of each candidate, professing, in the secrecy of confidential correspondence, to be friendly to each. At length the election of Mr. Stevenson as Speaker of the House took place, and other thick coming indications warned this most cautious of fence-men that it was time to

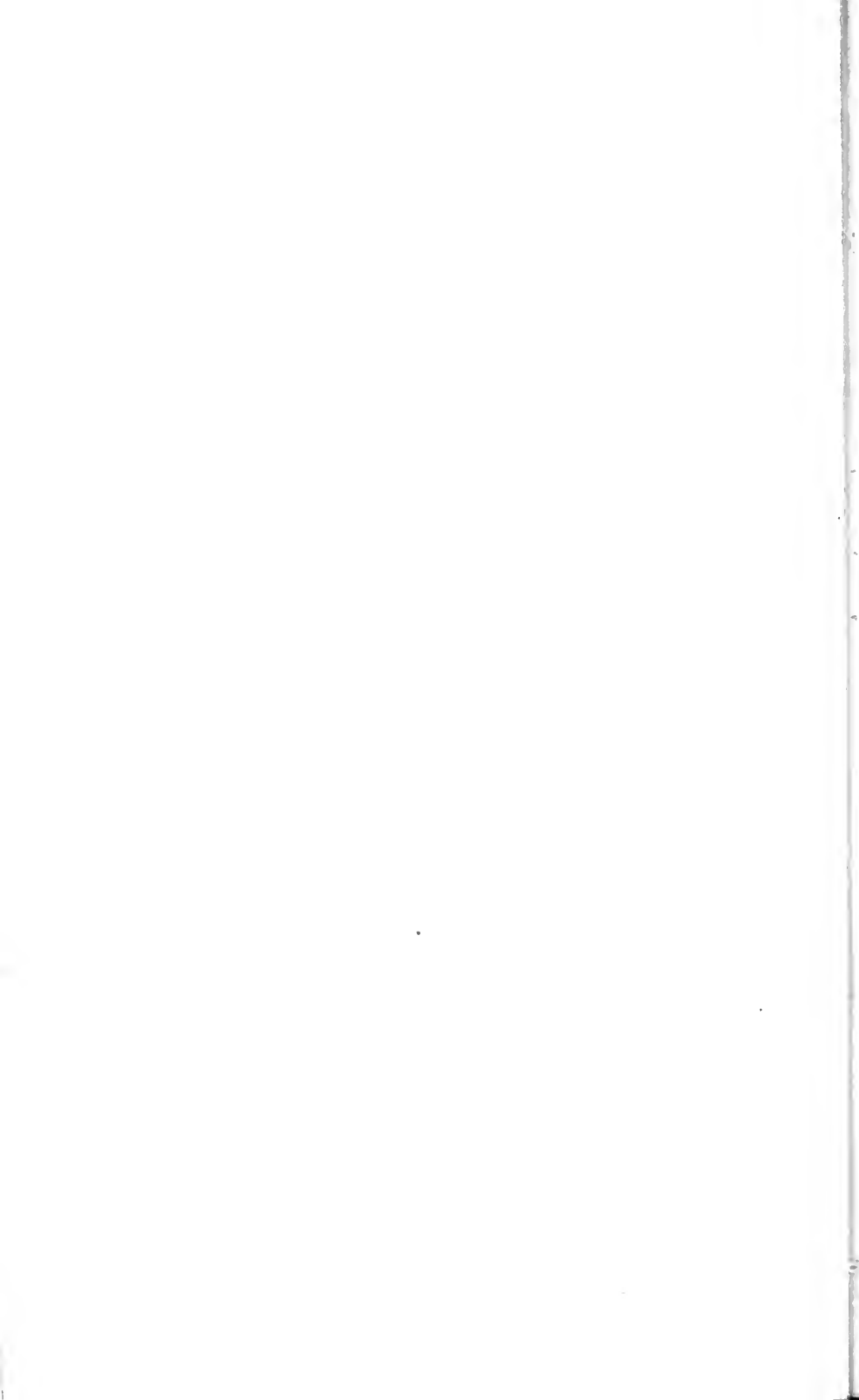
jump off. He now felt that his only chance was to steal or force himself into the front rank of those who had fought the good fight of Jackson and reform—and both of these modes he attempted. But his conduct during the time when his assistance was needed and would have been welcomed, and the base and selfish calculations which had induced that conduct, caused him to be viewed every where with coldness and distrust. And a consciousness that he had justly forfeited the confidence and respect of those who had in bye-gone days been his best friends, induced him to look about for new friends and a new party.—Finding it impossible to obtain the countenance of any existing party, he was obliged to resort to the forlorn hope of manufacturing a new one. The attempt was arduous, the materials scarce, and small the confidence in this would-be leader. By dint, however, of persevering flattery, falsehood and hypocrisy, he persuaded two honest, well-meaning, but somewhat disappointed politicians of different sects, to countenance his plans, and hoist a banner under which were to be gathered the unprincipled of all parties. And a pretty business they made of the co-partnership. One party to the compact was to furnish cunning—another, a sufficient quantity of good society federalism—the third, a sprinkling of democracy and the balance in cash. Thus, like Macbeth's witches, and for a purpose not far differing from the Thane of Cawdor's he filled the cauldron with

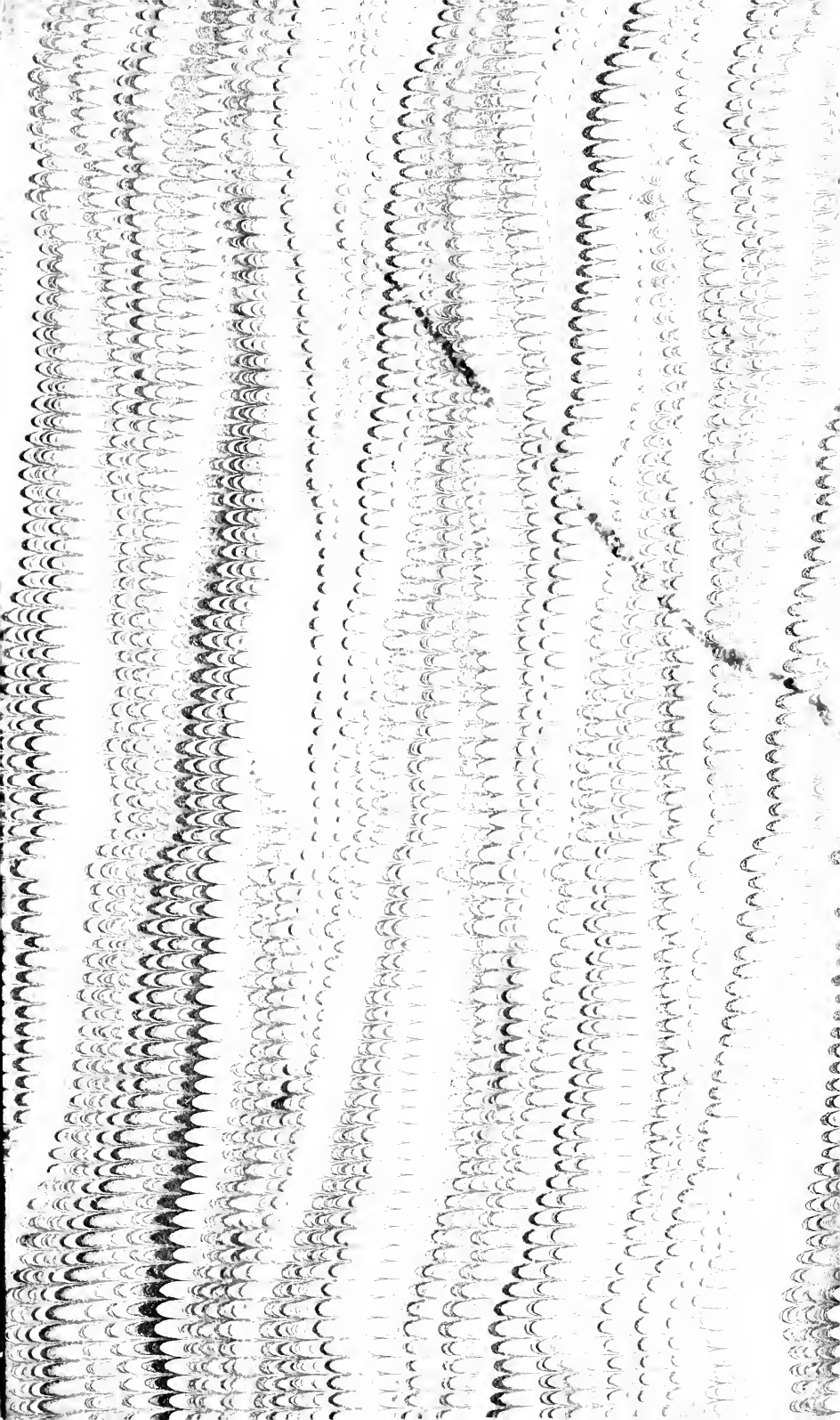
“Adder's fork and blind-worm's sting,
“Lizard's leg and owl's wing.”

The new firm hoisted their parti-colored flag and beat up for recruits. Many were called but few came—and those who did come were the strangest mixture of the odds and ends of all parties that eyes ever beheld. Motley was the only wear. Falstaff would never have marched through Coventry with such soldiers. But such as they were, they were all that could be obtained—and with this apology for a party the fortunes of the prime mover were to be made or marred. *They were marred.*

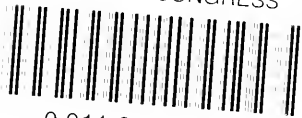
Retiring from the presence, disappointed, mortified, discredited—conscious only of utter and deserved failure—another passion enters into his soul and obtains the mastery there. That passion is REVENGE. He lives, moves, breathes, but for one fell purpose—*revenge*. Revenge on all—on Gen. Jackson, whom in his private, familiar conversation he abuses in the foulest manner—on his constitutional advisers—and on the humble individuals whose only crime consists in having been preferred to him. How to accomplish this, is his thought by day and his dream by night. His perverted talents, his fiendish cunning, and his exceeding falsehood, have all been put in requisition—the plan of his operations has been determined and is now developing. It is such a plan as might have been expected from such a heart, such a mind, such passions. He affects, God knows how falsely, to be a friend and supporter of the President and his administration—this, that he may acquire power to accomplish the mischief he meditates. He affects great solicitude for the consequences of certain appointments in this quarter—first insinuates that they are injudicious, and next proceeds to denounce them. And all this, as he pretends, from pure love to the administration, and a sincere desire to uphold and support it. Does a newly appointed officer exert his faculties to the utmost stretch, rising early and retiring late, that the duties of his office may be so discharged as to preclude all cavil at his appointment and extort praise from those who would more willingly bestow censure—straightway this boding owl insinuates that that approbation is purchased by base means, and that the undivided voice of a whole community is a false testimony induced by bribery. Does a newly appointed, active and faithful officer deem it proper to displace a clerk for reasons satisfactory to himself and the government—the friends of that clerk are visited by this immaculate *supporter* of the administration—they are falsely assured that government does not approve and will not sustain the course of its officer—the embers of their discontent are artfully fanned—their passions are stimulated—they are excited to call meetings for the purpose of denouncing the representative of the government—and promised the co-operation of himself, his relatives and friends, together with the aid of an unprincipled, purchased press, of which he has obtained the control much in the same manner as the monkey got possession of the roasted chestnuts. Suppose a person possessing such characteristics and pursuing such a course—might he not, Mr. Editor, be properly termed “*a concealed enemy of the Administration?*”

ANTI-JANUS.





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